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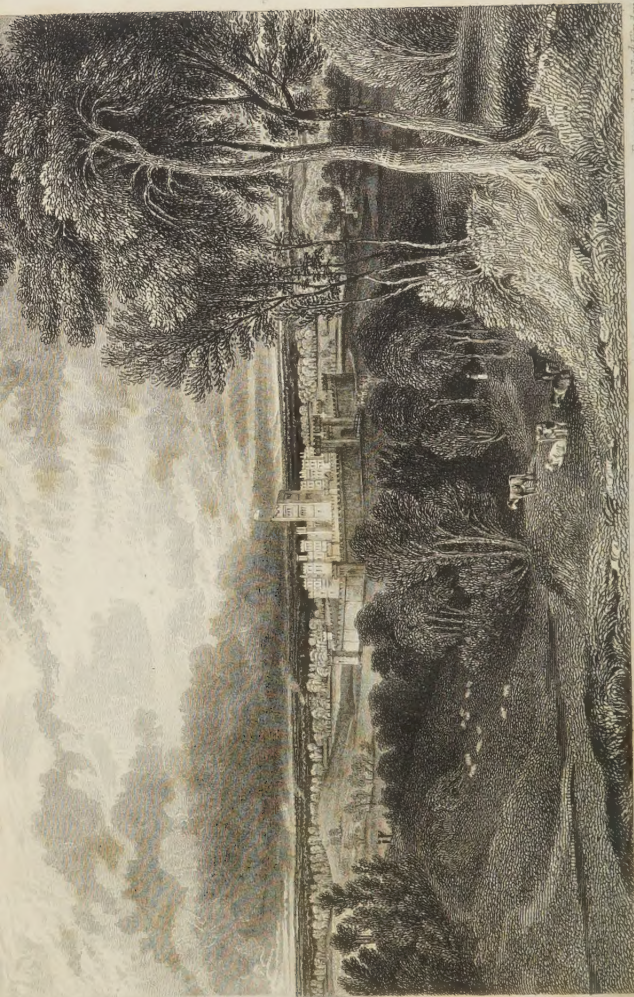
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Engraved by Edw. J. Finden.

LATHOM HOUSE.

As it existed before the siege, restored from existing documents.

London, Published by Longman, & Co. 1863.

Drawn by G. Pickering.

THE
HOUSE OF STANLEY;

INCLUDING THE

SIEGES OF LATHOM HOUSE,

WITH

NOTICES OF RELATIVE AND CO-TEMPORARY
INCIDENTS, &c.

BY PETER DRAPER,

OF THE ORMSKIRK ADVERTISER.

ORMSKIRK:
PUBLISHED BY T. HUTTON, CHURCH-STREET.

—
MDCCCLXIV.

ORMSKIRK :
PRINTED BY T. HUTTON.

942.7

P R E F A C E .

FREQUENT applications having been made to the Publisher for a work giving the history of the House of Stanley down to the present time, without being able to supply such a book, some time ago it was resolved to prepare and publish in the *Ormskirk Advertiser* a series of chapters giving the more prominent points in the career of the great Stanley Family from its earliest history, including notices of such relative and co-temporary incidents as are associated therewith. Those chapters appeared in the columns of the newspaper as opportunity allowed; and it afforded no little encouragement to learn, as the work progressed, that its appearance in the columns of the newspaper was favourably received.

Besides the chapters which appeared in the *Ormskirk Advertiser*, under the title of "The House of Stanley," the present volume contains notices of the Stanleys of Cross-Hall and the Stanleys of Alderley,—Knowsley,—Lathom House,—Scarisbrick Hall,—The Burial Places of the Earls of Derby, Burscough Priory and Ormskirk Church,—and other relative matters of local and general interest.

The work is illustrated with four steel engravings, representing Old Lathom House before its troubles, the Ruins of Burscough Priory, and portraits of James, the seventh Earl of Derby, and his Countess, the illustrious Charlotte de la Tremouille (both from Vandyke); and the volume is also embellished with a lithograph of the Derby Chapel, by Messrs. Day and Son, London, from a drawing by the late Mrs. Mathias, sister of the Rev. W. E. Rawstorne, M.A., of Penwortham, some time vicar of Ormskirk, and a relative of Colonel Edward Rawstorne, the governor of Lathom House during its second siege.

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CORRIGENDA.

- Page 11, line 9, after "had," read " an only daughter, Margaret, and, by a second marriage," &c.—See note, page 262.
- Page 11, line 11, for "Margaret," read " Mary."
- Page 26, line 10, after "Bohun," add " third son of Humphrey de Bohun," &c.
- Page 284, line 38, for "Shiel," read "Sheil."
- Page 306, line 13, for "Expulson," read "Expulsion."

The House of Stanley.



IN this proposed sketch of the history of the House of Stanley it will be our aim to present such particulars as may be both interesting and instructive.

The Family of the Stanleys may well be described, as it has been by all who have attempted to narrate its history, as one of the most illustrious in the whole range of the British peerage, not only on account of its great antiquity, but also on account of the important and interesting character of the events with which it is historically associated. Since the time of the Conquest, the members of this ancient and noble family have been found more or less prominently taking their part in those movements which have given an interest to the events which form the subject matter of the history of our country; having, as an old historian and biographer observes, "in their several ages been distinguished and promoted by royal favour to the highest posts of honour and trust under sovereign princes, and always advancing in the front ranks of our British heroes:" so that it may fairly be said the history of the Stanley family is inextricably interwoven with, and forms no small part of the history of England's chivalry, patriotism, and constitutional institutions; and the ancient House of Derby could not have wished for, as the inheritors of its honours and illustrious name, worthier representatives than the present Earl of Derby* and his son, Lord Stanley, M.P., who, true to the antecedents of their ancestors and the motto of the family—" *Sans changer* "—are loyally, patriotically, and nobly devoted to the honour and interest of their country.

Of the history of the House of Stanley prior to the Conquest, there is little to interest the general reader; but there

* Fourteenth Earl.

is good reason for believing that, long before the landing of William the Conqueror, the maternal branch of the house was a family of considerable note, and possessed large estates in the county of Stafford.

As to the origin and lineal descent of this ancient house, Mr. Camden seems to think they are of the same family as the barons of Audley, who built Healey Castle, in the county of Stafford, upon lands given to them by Harvey de Stafford, as also Aldeleigh, by Theobald de Verdon; and from these, he contends, sprang the family of the Stanleys and the Earls of Derby. Other writers, however, are of opinion that the Stanley family is of greater antiquity than the barons of Audley, and that Mr. Camden might have said, with far more reason, that the barons of Audley sprang from the same family as the Earls of Derby.

According to Mr. Camden, the family of Stanley was seated at Audley, or Stoneley, in Staffordshire, about a mile from the head of the river Trent, from which place, the land being craggy or stony, it is supposed the family received its appellation, as was the custom in those days for families to take their names from trades, professions, or estates; hence we have Stoneley or Stanley, a name beyond all doubt of Saxon origin, and which shows, as already stated, that the Stanleys were a family of note prior to the Conquest. Bishop Rutter, in his manuscripts (1066), agrees with Mr. Camden as to the location of the family at Stoneley, in Staffordshire, and observes that the family was of Saxon extraction, as are all families in England whose surnames end in "ley," just as all names ending in "by" are of Danish origin.

How long the Stanleys were seated at Audley, or Stoneley, before the Conquest is not known, but Bishop Rutter assures us that they resided there long before the landing of William Duke of Normandy; and that the Conqueror was attended in his expedition to England by Adam de Aldithley or Audithley, who was accompanied from Audithley, in Normandy, by his two sons, Lydulph and Adam de Audithley. On William obtaining the crown of England, he conferred upon Adam de Audithley the elder, large and valuable possessions and other favours, as he did to all his followers. Adam de Audithley appears to have been a great favourite with King William and his Queen, for we are informed that Queen Matilda, the wife of the Conqueror, and the daughter of Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, and commonly mentioned as Maud the Stranger,

gave to Adam de Audithley, the elder, the seat of Red Castle, in the county of Salop or Shropshire, with all the lands and tenements appertaining thereto, where the family seems to have resided until the completion of the building of Healey Castle, in the county of Stafford, whence they derived the title of Barons of Healey,—but which member of the family built the castle, or which of them first took possession of it, we are not informed.

The first Lord of Stoneley, styled Henry Stanley de Stoneley, lived about forty or fifty years before the Conquest, and sometime after, and had an only daughter, named Mabella, whom he gave in marriage to Adam, son of Lydulph and grandson of Adam de Audithley, who, as already mentioned, accompanied William the Conqueror into England. The issue of this marriage was a son, named Henry,* after his grandfather, the first Lord de Stoneley, at whose death, his son-in-law, Adam de Audithley, in the right of his wife Mabella, became Lord of Stoneley and Balterley, in the county of Stafford, and was ancestor of the Barons Audley, of Healey Castle, in the same county.

Adam de Audithley, the second son of Adam de Audithley, was the father of William de Audithley, to whom Thomas Stanley, Esq., of Stafford, uncle of Henry Stanley of Stoneley, gave his only daughter and heiress, Joan or Joanna, in marriage, and with her, as a marriage portion, the manor of Thalk.

Adam de Audithley, the son of Lydulph, exchanged the manor of Stoneley and half the manor of Balterley with his cousin, William de Audithley, for the manor of Thalk;† and this William de Audithley, in honour of his lady and the great antiquity of her family, made choice of Stoneley for his seat, and called himself Stanley, and thus became the founder of the family of the Stanleys.

Here we must now take some further notice of the descendants of Adam, the son of Lydulph de Audithley, who married Mabella, the daughter of the first Lord of Stoneley. The first son of this marriage, as already mentioned, was Henry, who is said to have been the founder of Hilton Abbey, on

* Mr. Camden observes that it is strange to read what lands King Henry III. confirmed to Henry de Audley, the son of Mrs. Stanley, and his family, which were bestowed upon them by the King, the bounty of peers, and even of private persons.

† The instrument by which this exchange was effected was in the following terms:—"I Adam, the son of Lydulph de Audithley, give and grant unto William de Audithley, the son of Adam my uncle, the town or manor of Stoneley, and half the town or manor of Balterley, in exchange for the town or manor of Thalk on the Hill, &c. Testibus, Henrico Preers, Roberto de Audithley, Adam de Capell, and William de Wolve, &c."

which he settled large revenues. He married Bertred, the daughter of one Ralph Manwaring, of Peover, in Cheshire, and by her had issue two sons, James and Adam, and two daughters. Adam, the second son, is said to have died young, and James, the elder son, was the first styled Lord Audley, of Healey Castle.

This Lord Audley is represented as having been a very brave and gallant man, as well as an eminent and experienced soldier, being one of the chief commanders at the memorable battle of Poitiers, in France,* under Edward the Black Prince, the renowned son of Edward III., in which battle he gained for himself immortal honour as well by his bounty as his valour and military ability; for the Prince, we are told by Seacombe, "being a witness of his undaunted courage, superior conduct, and high merit in the glorious and ever memorable victory obtained that day, September 19th, 1356, gave him, in reward of his eminent and distinguished services, £500 per annum, in England, which he immediately bestowed upon his four esquires or captains who served under him (whereof Sir John Stanley is said to have been one), of which the Prince being informed, was greatly surprised, and asked him if he did not accept his favour, to whom he replied, he did; but that those he had given it to, deserved it as well as he, and wanted it more; with which answer the Prince was so well pleased that he gave him £500 more. A noble example of

* This was the second great battle (Cressy being the first) fought in the reign of Edward III. for the Crown of France. Edward's claim arose from his mother Isabella, the fourth child of Philip IV., the Fair, King of France, who died in 1314. Isabella married Edward II., King of England. The three first sons of Philip IV., namely, Louis X., Philip V., and Charles IV. died without issue; and, owing to the Salic law, which enacted that no female could inherit the throne, deprived Edward of the Crown of France in right of his mother, consequently the Crown devolved on Philip de Valois, the son of Charles, Count de Valois, uncle to Isabella, the mother of Edward, and brother of Philip IV. In the battle of Cressy, in France, Edward watched the fight from a windmill, and refused to send aid to his son, the Black Prince, then a boy of fifteen years of age, who was sorely pressed in the front of the battle. "No," said the King, "let the boy win his spurs; his shall be the glory of the day!" The French in the battle sustained a great defeat: Twelve hundred knights, fifteen hundred gentlemen, four thousand men-at-arms, and thirty thousand infantry are said to have fallen in the battle. Amongst the slain were the Duke of Lorraine, the Count d'Alençon, and John, the blind King of Bohemia, who was led into the battle by four attendant knights, whose bridles were interlaced with his. The crest of the King of Bohemia, three ostrich feathers, and his motto, *Ich dien*, "I serve," were adopted by the Prince of Wales, and are still the arms of his successors. The battle of Poitiers was fought ten years after the battle of Cressy, namely, on Monday, the 19th September, 1356. In the interim, Philip, King of France, had died, and his son John had succeeded him. In the battle of Poitiers, the death and capture of the Prince of Wales seemed inevitable, so great was the preponderance of numbers against him. Fortunately, however, the battle-ground was among vineyards, which impeded the French cavalry. As at Cressy, the English archers won the day, having poured upon the French ranks shafts which no armour could resist. The first and second division of the French fell back; the King on foot led on the third. The English followed up their success with vigour, left the enclosures, and entirely routed the pance-struck chivalry of France with great slaughter, King John and his son, Prince Philip, and some of the most illustrious of his subjects being taken prisoners. In this memorable battle the Black Prince had under his command an army of only 8,000 English and Gascon soldiers, while the French had an army of 50,000 troops. The King of England had now two monarchs of Europe prisoners in his kingdom, David Bruce, of Scotland, taken prisoner by Queen Philippa, at Neville's Cross, and John of France.

munificence in the Prince, merit and generosity in the subject, and worthy the imitation of all brave and generous spirits."

Soon after this memorable battle, in which we are told more of the enemy were slain and taken prisoners than the Prince's army was in numbers, a truce between England and France ensued, and the brave Lord Audley was appointed Lord Justice of Ireland; and also commander-in-chief of all his Majesty's forces in the sister isle, as his grandfather had been before him; but whilst engaged on the survey and visitation of the country, he was unfortunately thrown from his horse, at Thomond, in the year 1372, which resulted in his death; so that the country lost a brave and gallant soldier, and his death put an end to the male issue of this branch of the Stanley family.

After the death of James, the first Lord Audley, his honours and estates descended to his two sisters, already mentioned. Margaret, his elder sister, was married to Thomas Touchet, of Nether-Whitley, in the county of Chester, who, in the right of his wife, became the second Lord Audley, of Healey Castle, and, by the favour of the Crown, had conferred upon him the honour and title of Earl of Castlehaven, in Ireland; and a descendant of his, Grey Bruges, the fifth Lord Chandos, about two hundred years after this, married the Lady Ann, eldest female issue of the unfortunate Ferdinando, fifth Earl of Derby, and thereby became entitled to, and possessed of the barony and estate of Lord Strange, of Knockyn, as we shall have to notice in another place.

We must now notice William de Audithley, who exchanged the manor of Thalk for the manor of Stoneley and part of the manor of Balterley, and, in honour of his wife, assumed the name of William de Stanley, and was first Lord of Stoneley, in the county of Stafford. This William de Stanley had a son by Joanna his wife, who was also named William, and to whom descended the seat and manor of Stoneley and part of Balterley, on the death of his father.

The second William Stanley had a son, who was also called William, and, in the Herald's Office, at Chester, is styled "milite" or knight. This Sir William Stanley had two sons, whose names were John and Adam. The elder son, John, died before his father, without issue, consequently, the younger son, Adam, succeeded to the honour and estates of his father.

Adam, now the fourth Lord of Stoneley, was styled Sir Adam de Stanley, and had issue a son named William.

This William became the fifth Lord of Stoneley, in the county of Stafford. He married Joan, eldest daughter and one of the co-heirs of Philip de Bamville, by Agnes, his wife, one of the daughters and co-heirs of Alexander de Stourton, by his wife, Amabilla, daughter and heir of Ranulph de Sylvester, Lord of Stourton, by which marriage he became possessed of the manor and bailiwick of Wirral Forest,* in 1316, by a grant of Edward II., at which time he also assumed the armorial bearings since used by his family, namely, Arg., three stags' heads, or, on a bend, az., instead of those borne by his ancestors. By his lady, Sir William Stanley had issue, two sons, John and Adam, and a daughter, named Sarah, who married Roger, the son of Sir Roger de Hausket. Adam, the younger son, died young, without issue; but John, the elder son, succeeded his father, and was the sixth Lord of Stoneley and the second Lord of Stourton, being the great great grandson of Ranulph de Sylvester, who was the son of Alan Sylvester, steward to Ranulph, the third Earl of Chester, who gave him for his seat the manor of Stourton, with the bailiwick of Wirral and the government of the forest of Wirral, and invested him therein by the delivery of a hunting horn, with certain fees and perquisites thereto belonging; and the present descendants of the Stanley family, of Hooton, are in possession of the ancient bugle or hunting horn, by which the bailiwick of Wirral Forest was held, on consideration of the forester either blowing, or causing to be blown, the horn at Gloverstone, in Chester, on the morning of every fair day, to

* In his *History of the Hundred of Wirral*, Mr. Mortimer gives the following account of the planting of the forest:—"The great barons now residing in the hundred, their estates were intrusted to the stewardship of their armed followers, who enforced with the utmost rigour every exaction which ingenuity could suggest, from those unfortunate natives that were yet employed upon estates once their own. Naturally of an active and warlike disposition, the inhabitants of Wirral frequently resorted to plunder, to satisfy the rapacious demands of their hard-hearted taskmasters, who willingly permitted these predatory expeditions, in the profits of which they largely participated. Their ravages were frequently extended beyond the walls of Chester; yet though their booty was occasionally large, it brought them no permanent relief. But the climax of their sufferings was reserved until 1120 to 1123, when Randel de Meschines, fourth Earl of Chester, irritated at these continued aggressions, caused all the farms to be destroyed, the boundaries of property to be removed, and the greater part of the hundred planted as a forest. The office of bailiff or chief ranger of the forest he conferred upon Alan Sylvestre, together with the manors of Storeton and Puddington, to be held by service of cornage. From Sylvestre, by several marriages with female heirs, the bailiwick of the forest passed to the Bamvilles and the Stanleys, together with the horn by which the right to the same was held, which horn yet remains at Hooton Hall. The privileges of the chief forester extended over the hundred. For nearly two centuries and a half, the inhabitants of the forest and of the villages on its borders continued the mere serfs of the barons, ever ready to embark in any expedition against their more civilized or more opulent neighbours. At length the citizens of Chester suffered so much from the proximity of the forest, and the shelter it afforded to the freebooters, that they complained to Edward the Black Prince, then Earl of Chester, at whose request his father ordered it to be disforested. The Stanleys petitioned the King for remuneration for the loss of their fees, and the profits attached to the office of chief forester, which they valued at forty pounds per annum; but for which they were allowed only an annuity of twenty marks—a pension which seems to have been but indifferently paid."

indicate that the tolls or duties payable on all goods bought or sold in the city, or within sound of that horn, during the fair, belonged to the Earl of Chester and his tenants there. This horn, which was preserved at Hooton until very recently, and of which an engraving is given in Mortimer's History of Wirral, is nearly seventeen inches long, nine inches and a half in circumference at the broad end, and two inches and a quarter at the top, and is decorated with a brass rim. The colour varies, but it is principally of a light or yellowish brown, spotted with shades of black or dark blue. At Hooton Hall there was also, among several other ancient portraits, that of Alan Sylvester, the ancestor, as already mentioned, of the Stourtons, upon whom was conferred, by Randel de Meschines, Earl of Chester, in 1120, the office of chief forester of Wirral.

Sir John Stanley married Mabella, daughter of Sir James Hausket, Knight, of Stourton Parva, his children by this alliance being two sons, namely, Sir William, his heir, and John, of Greswithin, in the county of Cumberland, who was M.P. for Carlisle, 20 Edward III., and from whom descend the Stanleys of Ponsonby Hall, in Cumberland.

Sir William Stanley succeeded his father, and was the seventh heir male of this noted family, and was styled William de Stanley, Lord of Stoneley and Stourton. In 1375, he married Alice, the daughter of Hugh Massey, of Timperley, in the county of Chester, and sister of Sir Hamon Massey, of Dunham Massey.* Sir William died in 1397, leaving issue, three sons, William, John, and Henry, and a daughter.

Sir William succeeded his father as the eighth heir male, and having married Margery, the only daughter and heir of William de Hooton, he became, in the right of his lady,

* The Massey family, whose ancestor, Richard Massie, a younger brother of Hamon, the fifth baron of Dunham, settled in the township of Puddington, in the early part of the thirteenth century, held the manor for many generations under the Lords of Stourton, in right of the grant made by Randel de Meschines, Earl of Chester, to Alan Sylvester. William Massey, the last male heir of this family, and a zealous Roman Catholic, died in 1716. He was an active supporter of the cause of the Pretender to the English crown, and was engaged in his behalf at the battle of Preston, from which it is traditionally said he fled alone and effected his escape into Wirral by the desperate yet successful attempt of swimming his horse across the Mersey near Hooton. He was subsequently taken at Puddington and conveyed to Chester Castle, where he was confined until his death, which occurred in the month of February in the following year. His estates he bequeathed to Thomas Stanley, his godson, a younger son of the then baronet. This Thomas Stanley died in 1740, having previously taken the name of Massey; he bequeathed his property to his elder brother, John, who also took the additional name of Massey. Upon the death of Sir William Stanley, the fifth baronet of Hooton, in 1792, the title and the estates of both families were concentrated in his uncle, the said John Stanley Massey, who then again resumed the name of Stanley; he died in 1794. His son and successor, the seventh baronet, died the following year; and the manor and estate of Puddington are now the property of Rowland Errington of Newnham Paddocks, in the county of Leicester, Esq., second son of the late Sir Thomas Stanley Massey Stanley, and brother to the present baronet of Hooton.

possessed of Hooton, in the county of Chester; and from this Sir William Stanley have descended the baronets of Hooton. He had issue, a son, also named William, who was styled Lord of Stoneley, Stourton, and Hooton, and grand ranger in chief of Wirral. From Sir John, the son of Sir William, called after his grandfather, the sixth Lord of Stoneley, descend the Earls of Derby, as we shall have to notice.

Of the third son, Henry, and of the daughter, we have no further information. The probability seems to be that they died without issue.

THE STANLEYS OF HOOTON.

Having brought down the history of the House of Stanley to Sir William Stanley, of Stoneley, in Staffordshire, who married Margery, the only daughter of William de Hooton, of Hooton, in Cheshire, we will proceed to notice the descendants of this, the elder branch of the Stanley family, up to the present time. Sir William, by his alliance with the heiress of Hooton, was the first of the Stanley family that removed from the old seat of Stanley or Stoneley, in the county of Stafford, to Hooton, in the county of Chester. Sir William had issue, a son, Sir William, who was the ninth heir male of the family.

This Sir William married, about the year 1425, Margery, the daughter of Sir John Arderne, of Hardin, by whom he had issue, two sons, William and John, the latter of whom married the heiress of Greswithin, in Cumberland, from whom descended the Stanleys of Delegarth.

Sir William, the elder son, succeeded to the honour and estate of his father, and was the tenth heir male of his family. This Sir William married Alicia, the daughter of Richard Hoghton, of Lancashire, and sister and heiress to Henry Hoghton, and by her had issue, a son, named William.

This Sir William was the eleventh direct heir male of the family, and married Mary, the daughter of Sir John Savage, of Clifton, and by her had two sons, John and William. The elder son died young, and the younger,

Sir William, succeeded his father as the twelfth heir male. This Sir William was twice married,—first to Margaret, the daughter of John Bromley, Esq., by whom he had a daughter, who became the wife of Sir Thomas Gerard, of Bryn, in the county of Lancaster; and second, to Agnes, the daughter of Robert Grosvenor, Esq., of Hulme, by whom he had a son, named William.

This Sir William succeeded his father as the thirteenth heir male of his family ; and married Agnes, the daughter of Sir James Harrington, of the county of Lancaster, and by her had issue, Catherine, William, Peter, John, and Agnes. Of the disposal of Catherine, John, and Agnes we have no information.

Peter married Elizabeth, the daughter and heiress of James Scarisbrick, of Moor Hall,* in Aughton, by Margaret, the daughter and heiress of Thomas Atherton, Esq., of Bickerstaffe,† by whom he had four sons and two daughters, namely, Thomas, James, Robert, and Edward, and Bridget and Margaret. This Peter Stanley, Esq., was an eminent royalist in the reign of Charles I., and joined his interest and force on the side of his noble and distinguished relative, James Earl of Derby, and shared with him in the fury and violence of those unhappy times, being imprisoned and his estate sequestered, to the great loss and impoverishment of himself and family. Eventually he escaped with his life, but being deprived of his estates, it was not until after the Restoration, upon the petition of his six children, that a fifth part of his property was restored to his family. Peter Stanley, Esq., bore the standard at the funeral of Earl Edward, in 1572. He died at an advanced age, and was buried in the Bickerstaffe Chapel, at Ormskirk Church, July 24th, 1652, and was succeeded by his son Edward, who married the heiress of Richard Hoghton, Esq., of Goosnargh, and by her had issue, several sons and daughters, the eldest of whom was Peter Stanley, Esq., named after his grandfather. This Peter Stanley had three sons, Edward, Thomas, and William. Edward, the eldest son, married the only daughter and heiress of Mr. Gerrard, of Aughton, by whom he had two sons, William and James. William, the elder son, died young, and was buried in the family vault in the Bickerstaffe Chapel, at Ormskirk. James succeeded his father, and at his death was also buried at Ormskirk.

As we have already noticed, the eldest son of Sir William Stanley, of Hooton, by Agnes, the daughter of Sir James Harrington, was William, who succeeded his father, and was the fourteenth heir male of his family, and was styled Sir

* Moor Hall was for successive generations the property and seat of the Athertons, the Scarisbricks, and the Stanleys. Up to 1840, Moor Hall was the property of the Stanleys of Hooton, when it was sold by the father of the present Sir William Thomas Stanley Massey Stanley, Bart. Shortly after this, it was again sold, when it became the property of the late John Rosson, Esq., J.P., and Deputy Lieutenant of the County, and is now the residence of Miss Rosson, the surviving sister of the above-named deceased gentleman.

† By the marriage of Peter Stanley with Elizabeth Scarisbrick, who held the manor of Bickerstaffe, the lordship of the manor of Bickerstaffe was conveyed to Peter Stanley, the second son of Sir William Stanley, of Hooton. Margaret, the daughter of Peter Stanley, married Henry Stanley, of Aughton, son of Sir James Stanley, of Cross Hall, son of George, Lord Strange, the father of Thomas, the second Earl of Derby.

William Stanley de Hooton. He married Grace, the fourth daughter of Sir William Griffith, Chamberlain of North Wales, and by her had issue, two sons, William and Rowland. William, it seems, died in his father's lifetime without issue; therefore,

Sir Rowland, the younger son, succeeded to the honour and estates of his father, and so became the fifteenth heir male of his family. He married Margaret, the daughter and heiress of Hugh Aldersey, Esq., of Cheshire, and by her had a son named William.

This Sir William Stanley married Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir John Egerton, and was a distinguished soldier at the commencement of the seventeenth century. Being originally engaged in the service of the King of Spain, he was, in 1578, employed in putting down a rebellion in Ireland, where he signally distinguished himself in an attack on the lands of the Earl of Desmond, and by the remarkable manner in which he sustained an attack of four hundred foot and thirty horse, "not having in his company six score persons to the uttermost." According to a treaty made between the States General and Queen Elizabeth, that whenever a vacancy occurred in the government of any town, it should be filled up by one of three persons who might be presented to the commander-in-chief, Leicester at once appointed Sir William Stanley governor of Deventer, and placed under his command a garrison of about 1,400 Irish soldiers. Notwithstanding this, however, almost immediately after taking command, he entered into negotiations for delivering the fortress into the hands of the Spaniards, in the service of whose monarch he was to have conferred upon him the same rank as he held in the English service, and to retain the government of Deventer. After the fortress had been recovered by Prince Maurice, Sir William remained in Holland, arranging the communications of King Philip II. of Spain with England, and pointing out those parts which were most vulnerable to the assaults of the Spanish Armada. The Government of Queen Elizabeth, however, were not inattentive to these proceedings, for numerous spies were employed to watch his conduct; and many of their observations, most minute in every particular, are recorded in the Harleian MSS., in which are also to be found the examination of some of his servants, who were intercepted at Chester on their route into Wirral. After the defeat of the Spanish Armada, Sir William retired into the dominions of his new master, Philip II.; and, being high in

the King's favour, was at one time spoken of as the probable leader of an expedition into Ireland. He was, however, finally appointed governor of Mechlin, where he terminated his unenviable career.

The venerable Sir Rowland, to mark his detestation of his son's conduct, was a liberal contributor to the fund for repelling the Spanish Armada. Sir Rowland died in 1613, and was buried at Eastham, Cheshire, being one of the oldest knights in England at the time of his death; and was succeeded by his grandson, William, the son of Sir William and Elizabeth Stanley, then only seven years old.

Sir William Stanley (first baronet), the grandson of the venerable Sir Rowland Stanley, married Charlotte, elder daughter of Sir Richard Molyneux, of Sefton, Lancashire, by Mary, daughter and co-heiress of Sir John Carryl, of Benton, county of Sussex. He was created a baronet 17th June, 1662, being then in his 56th year, and was succeeded by his son,

Sir Rowland, as second baronet, who married Anne, daughter of Clement Paston, Esq., of Berningham, Norfolk. This Sir Rowland died in 1737, and was succeeded by his son,

Sir William, the third baronet, who married Catherine, the daughter of Rowland Eyre, Esq., of Hassop, in the county of Derby. Sir William was succeeded by his son,

Sir Rowland, the fourth baronet, who married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Thomas Parry, Esq., of Pyrthymean, Flintshire, Wales, and was succeeded by his only surviving son,

Sir William, the fifth baronet, who married Barbara, daughter of John Towneley. Sir William died without issue, in 1792, when his uncle,

Sir John Stanley, succeeded to the title and estates as the sixth baronet, and assumed the additional surname of Massey, under the will of the Rev. Thomas Massey, the younger son of Sir William Stanley, the third baronet, who, as heir of Sir William Massey, of Puddington, had himself adopted the name of Massey, as well as the additional name of Stanley, under the will of his nephew and predecessor, Sir William. Sir John Stanley Massey Stanley married Mary, daughter of Thomas Clifton, Esq., of Clifton Hall, Lytham, Lancashire, by Mary, daughter of Richard, fifth Viscount Molyneux, of Sefton. Sir John died in 1794, and was succeeded by his son,

Sir Thomas, the seventh baronet, who, having married Catherine, daughter of William Salvin, Esq., of Croxdale, Durham, left issue, five sons and a daughter. William, his eldest

son, succeeded to the title and estates ; Thomas, the second son, became, on the death of his brother, the ninth baronet ; Charles, the third son, in 1829, married Barbara, daughter of Sir Edward Mostyn, Bart ; and Catherine, the daughter, was married to William Blundell, Esq., of Crosby Hall, Lancashire. Sir Thomas died on the 19th February, 1795, and was succeeded by

Sir William, his eldest son, the eighth baronet, who died during his minority, in 1803, when the title and estates devolved upon his brother,

Sir Thomas, who thus became the ninth baronet. This Sir Thomas married, in 1805, Mary, the only daughter of Sir Carnaby Haggerston, Bart., of Haggerston Castle, in the county of Durham, by whom he had three sons and a daughter. —1, William Thomas, the present unfortunate baronet ; 2, Rowland, born in 1809, who assumed the surname of Errington only, and married, 7th January, 1839, Julia, eldest daughter of Lieutenant-General Sir John Macdonald, adjutant-general of the forces ; 3, John, born in 1810 ; Maria Frances, married August 2nd, 1832, to Sir Richard Bulkeley Williams-Bulkeley, Bart. Sir Thomas died in August, 1841.

Sir William Thomas Stanley Massey Stanley, the present and tenth baronet, succeeded his father, and is now 55 years of age, having been born in 1807. Sir William Thomas is spoken of as remarkable for the frankness, hospitality, and generosity of his character, which, combined with his love of field sports, and his courtesy to the gentlemen of his neighbourhood, rendered him universally popular ; and among his tenantry, the condescension of his manners, and his uniform consideration of their interests and personal comfort, caused him to be equally beloved ; and it is a subject of much regret that his expenditure has been on such a liberal scale as to render his fortune unequal to his hospitality and generosity. We regret to have to state that his embarrassments have been of such a nature as to necessitate his leaving the home of his ancestors. Sir William Thomas left England a few years ago, and he is now supposed to be residing on the continent, whence there is no probability of his returning to the home of his birth. It is a source of regret to the inhabitants both of Cheshire and Lancashire, and indeed of the whole country at large, to see the head of this ancient and honourable house subjected to the misery of suffering from incumbrances which appear beyond the power of economy to remove. The present baronet does not appear to have married.

Arms—Ar., on a bend, az., three stags' heads, cabossed, or.
Crest—A stag's head and neck, coupé, ar., attired, or, the tongue hanging out, gu.

HOOTON HALL,

Until recently, and for five centuries the seat of the eldest branch of the illustrious Stanley family, is situated on a gentle eminence in the interesting township of Hooton, in Cheshire, near the eastern extremity of the hundred of Wirral, commanding an extensive view of the river Mersey, and the entire coast of Cheshire and Lancashire, to the sea, the venerable oak trees on the estate being of a growth exceeding any to be found in the neighbourhood. The ancient Hall of Hooton was a very extensive and imposing timber building. The first member of the family who took possession of the mansion was Sir William, the ninth heir male of the family, who, for the enlargement and improvement of his house and the better accommodation of his family, obtained, in the reign of Henry VI., the royal licence to build a turret or tower at his seat at Hooton, with embattled walls. Copies of an engraving as the house then stood may now be met with. The old hall was taken down in 1778; and the present mansion was erected from designs by Wyatt, with stones from the extensive and world-wide renowned quarries of Stourton or Storeton, this celebrity arising from the surprising records they have afforded of the animal and vegetable occupants of the district during their formation. In the formations geologists have found the footprints of the cheirotherium, or great-headed beast, which they pronounce to have had the body of a frog, the head of a crocodile, and to be of the size of a man. A slab containing the footmarks of this antediluvian creature may now be seen in the Derby Museum, at the Public Library, Liverpool. Impressions have also been found of tortoises, crocodiles, lizards, and of the rynchosaurus, a creature with the body of a reptile and the back and feet of a bird. The grand circular stone staircase at Hooton Hall is an object of universal admiration. Owing to the embarrassed circumstances of the present representative of the Stanleys of Hooton, a public sale of the contents of the Hall took place about ten years ago, and the Hall is now the property of R. C. Naylor, Esq.

We have now traced down to the present time the descendants of the Stanleys of Hooton from the time of Sir William, the eighth heir male, who married Margery, the daughter of William de Hooton, leaving his brother John, from whom

descend the Earls of Derby, to be now noticed. But before we proceed with this illustrious branch of the Stanley family, it may be as well to take some notice here of

THE LATHOM FAMILY,

The beautiful heiress of which family (Isabel) became the wife of the renowned Sir John Stanley. The progenitors of the Lathoms, in the female line, appear to have had a reputation in this part of the country for a period prior to the range of existing records, and before Lancashire had a name, or separate existence as a county. The foundation of Burscough Abbey fixes Robert Fitz-Henry de Lathom, in the time of Richard I., at the lordship of Lathom, from which he derived his name, and where he probably built one of those rude wooden mansions common to the period in which he lived. In the year 1250, during the minority of William de Ferrers, the then Earl of Derby, Henry III. granted to Robert de Lathom (according to the custom of the time) the *custody* of that earl's "Honour of Lancaster," the germ of the future Palatinate, which was one of the most important trusts that could be conferred on a subject, and an earnest of the honourable connexions with Lancashire enjoyed by his descendants,* who, in regular succession, resided at Lathom until the reign of Edward III. The following summary of the pedigree of the family will shew how Lathom and Knowsley came into the possession of the Derby family. Sir Robert Lathom, son of Richard, and grandson of Robert Fitz-Henry, in the reign of Edward I., married Amicia, sister and co-heiress of Thomas, lord and baron of Alfreton and Norton, and Sir Robert, their son, married Katherine, daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas de Knowsley, by whom the estate of Knowsley was brought into the family. From this marriage there sprang, 1st, Sir Thomas de Lathom, senior, who married a daughter and co-heiress of Sir Hamon de Massey; 2nd, Hugh; and 3rd, Edward, Lord of Witherington, by gift of his brother Sir Thomas. Sir Thomas was father of Sir Thomas the younger, who married Johanna, daughter of Hugh Venables, by whom he had Isabel, his heiress, who, marrying Sir John Stanley, brought to her gallant husband, on the death of her father, Sir Thomas de Lathom, in 1385, being the eighth year of the reign of Richard II., Lathom, Knowsley, and other large

* See "Remains, Historical and Literary, of Lancaster and Chester," published by the Chetham Society.

estates, the ancient possessions of Orm, the supposed ancestor of her family, in the female line.

As the fabulous tradition of "*The Eagle and Child*," the crest of the Stanley family, is amusingly associated with the family of Lathom, we will here reproduce it. This strange story is seriously related as follows :—"Sir Thomas, the father of Isabel, having this only child, and cherishing an ardent desire for a son to inherit his name and fortune, had an intrigue with a young gentlewoman, the fruit of which connexion was a son. This infant he contrived to have conveyed by a confidential servant to the foot of a tree in his park, frequented by an eagle; and Sir Thomas, with his lady, taking their usual walk, found the infant as if by accident. The old lady, considering it a gift from heaven, brought hither by the bird of prey, and miraculously preserved, consented to adopt the boy as their heir :

‘ Their content was such, to see the hap,
That th’ ancient lady hugs yt in her lap;
Smoth’s yt with kisses, bathes yt in her tears,
And unto Lathom House the babe she bears.’

The name of Oskatell was given to the little foundling, Mary Oskatell being the name of his mother. From this time the crest of the Eagle and Child was assumed; but as the old knight approached near his grave, his conscience smote him, and on his death-bed he bequeathed the principal part of his fortune to Isabel, his daughter, now become the lady of Sir John Stanley, leaving poor Oskatell, on whom the King had conferred the honour of knighthood, only the manors of Irlum and Urmston, near Manchester, and some possessions in the county of Chester, in which county he settled, and became the founder of the family of Lathom, of Astbury !"

This tradition is purely a fabrication, and appears to be founded on a pious memorial erected by Robert de Lathom, of Astbury, a near relative of the Lathoms of Lancashire, for in the Harleian Collection of MSS. there is an account of some painted windows in Astbury Church, near Congleton, in Cheshire, on which a figure is represented, with a sword and spurs, habited in a white tabard, the hands clasped, over his head, a shield placed anglewise under a helmet and mantle, emblazoned or, on a chief indented az. three bezants, over all a bondlet gules; crest, an eagle standing on an empty cradle with wings displayed, regardant, or, with the inscription—"Orate pro anima Phillipi fil. Dom. Roberti Lathom militis," which may be translated thus :—"Pray for the soul of Philip, the son of Sir Robert Lathom, Knight." In

Ormerod's Cheshire, it is stated that this Philip Lathom, of Astbury, Cheshire, was uncle to Sir Thomas, *alias* Oskatell, the father of Isabel; and in arguing upon this fact, Baines, in his *History of Lancashire*, observes that it would be a strange circumstance if an uncle should have assumed a crest bearing allusion to the adoption of an illegitimate child; and supposing Sir Oskatell to have been the son of Sir Thomas, instead of Sir Thomas himself, the fact of Philip's bearing the crest would be still more extraordinary. That there was an Oskell or Oskatell of Lathom, who bore as his crest an eagle standing on a child, seems to be proved by the painting formerly in the windows of Northenden church, 1580. This was, no doubt, because it was the old Lathom crest, for the eagle seems from a remote period to have been a favourite cognizance of the family.* The story of the "Eagle and Child" was told so early as in the days of the great and good King Alfred; and, with the ancestors of Orm, it might even then have been associated, which would give to the house of Stanley, in the female line, as already hinted, an antiquity equal to that of any other noble family in the country; for the family of Orm, the supposed maternal ancestors of the family of Isabel, who became the wife of Sir John Stanley, may have had a standing in this part of the country in King Alfred's time, whether the family be of Saxon or Danish extraction; and in the absence of facts to confute this hypothesis, we feel inclined to accept it by inference.

The tradition of the "Eagle and Child," as handed down from the time of King Alfred, is as follows:—"One day as

* The Torbocks, the younger branch of the Lathoms, took an eagle's claw for a difference on the family shield, and the grant of Witherington, by Sir Thomas Lathom, senior, reputed father of Sir Oskatell, was sealed with the Lathom arms on an eagle's breast.—Lord Stanley, of Alderley, in a communication to Mr. Roby, author of "*Popular Traditions in England*," observes:—"It has been supposed, from the resemblance of the Lathom arms to those of the Ormond family, that they were formerly connected. The Butlers trace their descent from Harvey, a Norman nobleman; and Henry, the first owner of Lathom, has been considered to be the son of Theobald Walter, grandson or great grandson of Harvey. If there ever existed a connexion, it appears more probable, however, that Henry was a descendant of Harvey through the female line. Harvey's daughter, Alice, married a Saxon, a great landowner, called in the Testa de Nevill, Ornifre Magnus, and in the Ormond Pedigree, *Ormus* Magnus. The parish of Ormskirk (formerly called Ormes-church), in which Lathom is situated, belonged, according to tradition, to the Ormes. *Dalton*, *Parbold*, and *Witherington* belonged to the Ormes; and these manors certainly became the property of the *Lathoms*,—Dalton having been granted by Henry de Lathom to the Torbocks, and *Witherington* and *Parbold*, by his descendant, to the young sons of the family. *Ornifre*, literally translated from the old Saxon, would be *eagle-born*: the connexion of such a name with a family whose insignium became that of an eagle standing on a child would be a curious coincidence. Orme was the name of the Saxon possessor of *Halton*, in Cheshire; and possibly he may have been the same individual who, driven from his estates in Cheshire, settled in Lancashire, which was not thoroughly subdued by the Conqueror till a later period. The Ormes held property in Lancashire for many generations after the Conquest, and one branch of the family held the township of *Kelleth*, of which they took the name. The arms of the *Kelleths*, or, latterly, *Culcheths*, were an eagle holding a child; and two other families connected with them bore the same arms."—See *Roby's Traditions*, vol. i., p. 170.

Alfred was hunting in a wood, he heard the cry of a little infant in a tree, and ordered his huntsman to examine the place. They ascended the branches, and found at the top, in an eagle's nest, a beautiful child dressed in purple, with golden bracelets, the marks of nobility on his arms. The King had him brought down, and baptised, and well educated; from the accident he named the foundling Nestingum. His grandson's daughter is stated to have been one of the ladies for whom Edgar indulged an improper passion." The question has been suggested whether for Edgar we may not read Oskatell, the *Danish* prince, and thus complete the parallel.

THE HOUSE OF DERBY.

Sir John Stanley, the second son of Sir William Stanley, of Hooton, from whom the Earls of Derby deduce their origin, must now be noticed. Seacombe, and Rolt in his history of the Isle of Man, state that Sir John was born about the 27th or 28th of the reign of Edward III., which would make him only three years old when the battle of Poitiers was fought, and yet the same writers state that he was one of the four captains under his relation, James Lord Audley, and shared in the £500 which had been bestowed on Lord Audley by Edward the Black Prince, for his undaunted courage and superior conduct in that memorable victory over the French. This Captain Stanley, however, could not have been Sir John, but some other member of the family, and therefore it could not have been immediately after the battle of Poitiers that he engaged the French knight, Admiral of Hainault, in the tournament at Winchester. Sir John is represented as having, when about twenty years of age, set out on a tour of Europe, visiting most of the courts, and gathering laurels wherever he appeared, so much so that the fame of his martial achievements was the envy of the brave in arms, and that, on his return to England, he was followed by a certain French knight, who had the audacity to challenge all England to produce his equal in arms! This challenge was instantly accepted by the gallant Captain Stanley, and the contest took place by King Edward III.'s direction, and in his presence, under the walls of Winchester, where Captain Stanley fought and killed his opponent, the defiant Frenchman. A flourish of trumpets, we are told, announced the approach of the gallant Stanley, who first entered the arena mounted on a grey charger,

equipped in a full suit of armour. He looked gracefully round, first lowering his lance in front of the King's pavilion, and afterwards to the fair dames crowding the galleries on each side, among whom was the fair Isabel of Lathom, who had been brought thither by her brother Oskatell. Another flourish of trumpets announced the approach of the young French Admiral of Hainault, mounted on a black steed, his armour being blue and white, beautifully wrought and inlaid with silver, and a plume of white feathers decorating his casque, and extending his athletic form into almost gigantic proportions. The preliminary ceremonies were gone through; a deep and almost breathless silence succeeded. The trumpets sounded; the sharp click of the lances was heard falling into the rest; and the first rush was over. Through the dust, the horses were seen to recoil upon their haunches; but by the dust had disappeared, the warriors had regained their upright position, having sustained no injury save by the shivering of their lances with the stroke. A loud shout of applause ensued; and the esquires being at hand with fresh weapons, each gallant knight was too eager for the fray to lose a moment in requesting the usual signal. Again their coursers' feet seemed to spurn the earth. At this onset, the French knight bent back on his saddle, whether from subtilty or accident was not known, but there was a loud clamour; and the French knight, recovering himself, spurred on his steed with great vigour, perhaps hoping to take his adversary at unawares; but the latter, darting aside with agility, the Frenchman's lance ran full against the boards, and in deep vexation he came back to the charge. Trembling with rage, he hardly restrained himself until the prescribed signal; then, as if he would have made an end of his English opponent, he aimed his weapon with a direct thrust towards the heart; but the gallant Stanley, confident in his own might, was fully prepared for the blow of the Frenchman, as the event sufficiently proved; for the French knight was soon seen to reel from his saddle, the point of Stanley's lance being driven completely through his armour. He rolled backwards on the ground, and so vigorous had been the attack, that his horse's back was broken, and knight and steed lay together, groaning piteously, besmeared with blood and dust, to the sore dismay and disappointment of his admirers and companions. The victor Stanley suddenly alighted, and helped the pages to undo his dying antagonist's armour; but before his beaver could be unclasped, he had fainted through loss

of blood, and being borne off the field, he shortly afterwards expired.*

For this distinguished feat of arms, Captain Stanley had conferred upon him by the King the honour of knighthood, and enjoyed the special favour of his warlike sovereign, from whom he also received

“to his hire
Wyng, Trynge, and Ivyng in Buckinghamshire;”

nor were the fortunate consequences of his encounter with the French knight confined to a mere acquisition of royal favours and empty honours. Amongst the spectators of this “passage of arms” with the French knight was, as already intimated, the fair Isabel, the heiress of Lathom, who became enamoured of the valiant Sir John Stanley, and “sent to tell him of her love!” Sir John, according to the *Metrical Chronicle* of the Stanleys of Lathom, by Thomas Stanley, the Bishop of Sodor and Man, and son of Sir Edward Stanley, the hero of Flodden, prudently enquires the condition of the lady, and finding her in every respect a suitable person for the reciprocation of his affection—

“Her father oulde, and she his undoubted heire”—

he “condescends,”—or to speak more gallantly,—he encourages her advances. We are told, however, that the Lord of Lathom opposes the match as unequal, but

“Within short space after he stole her away,
Or she stole him, I cannot tell you whether.”

A marriage was contracted, and the Lord of Lathom became reconciled, and, departing this life, bequeathed his vast possessions to be the foundation of the future greatness and princely inheritance of the House of Stanley.

Soon after the accession of Richard II., Sir John was sent to Ireland to assist in the reduction of that turbulent kingdom, in which his efforts were so successful, that on the arrival of the King, who followed Sir John in person, in 1379, he brought to his Majesty no less than six Irish Kings, namely, O’Neil of Ulster, Rotheric O’Conner of Connaught, Carol of Urial, O’Rorick of Meath, Arthur McMur of Leinster, and O’Brien of Thomond, to make submission, and do homage to the King of England; and the King, as a reward for this great and signal service, granted to the gallant Sir John Stanley a considerable portion of lands in that country, including the manor of Blake Castle, and also appointed him lord-deputy of Ireland, in which office he appears to have

continued until the year 1389, when King Richard II. made a second visit to Ireland, where he remained all the winter, during which absence his cousin, Henry of Hereford, son of the great Duke of Lancaster, made his first attempt on the crown of England.

Sir John appears to have been one of the first of the English nobility to attach himself to Henry of Lancaster, who became Henry IV., but from what motives it is not easy to discover. Sir John Stanley was re-appointed lord-deputy of Ireland, whither he returned to enforce the authority of his new master, King Henry IV. In 1405, Sir John, whose services had been rewarded with munificence by King Henry, received a commission, in conjunction with Roger Leke, to seize on the city of York and its liberties, and also upon the Isle of Man, on the forfeiture of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland; and in the 7th Henry IV., being then treasurer of the household to the King, he obtained licence to fortify a house in Liverpool, with embattled walls, which had been newly built, called the Tower,* and was erected in that part of the town now known as Water-street. In the same year, and after the battle of Bramham Moor, near Halsewood, and the final suppression of Northumberland's rebellion, he had granted to him the lordship of the Isle of Man, and obtained a grant in fee of the said isle, castle, and pile, anciently called Holm Town, and of all the isles adjacent, as also all the regalities, franchises, &c., to be holden of the said King, his heirs, and successors, by homage, and the service of two falcons, payable on the days of their coronation. In the 9th Henry IV., Sir John Stanley was general attorney to Thomas de Lancaster, and had conferred upon him the manors of Lathom and Knoaslegh or Knowsley, with free warren in Childewell, Roby, and Anlasargh, the ancient inheritance of Sir Thomas de Lathom. On the accession of Henry V., he was made a Knight of the Garter, and constituted lord-lieutenant of Ireland, for six years, in which government he died, at Ardree, in Ireland, on the 6th January, 1414, having made a conspicuous figure during the reigns of Edward III., Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V., in the second year of whose reign he died at an advanced age, but still in the service of his country.

Sir John Stanley by his wife Isabel, the heiress of Lathom, had, besides two daughters, four sons, namely, John, Henry,

* The Tower at Liverpool, which was taken down in 1820, after passing through many vicissitudes, and being used for many purposes, was given, as a part of lady Isabel's dowry to Sir John Stanley.

Thomas, and Ralph. Sir John, the eldest son, succeeded his father; and Sir Thomas became the ancestor of the Stanleys of Elford and Pipe, in Staffordshire.

Sir John, at the time of his father's death, was about twenty-four years of age, and is represented as being a man of great genius and vivacity of spirit. He was made a knight of the shire for the county of Lancaster, in the second year of the reign of Henry V. After devoting his attention for a short time to the service of his King and country, he turned his attention more immediately to his own little dominion, the Isle of Man, to the lordship of which, on the death of his illustrious father, he had also succeeded. His little kingdom at this time appeared to be languishing under the effects of former oppression, and called for the fostering hand of its prince to revive the drooping spirits of the people. Accordingly, in the year, 1417, he landed in the Isle of Man, and, after conferring with the deemsters or judges and others well versed in the ancient government, he assembled the whole body of the people at a certain place in the centre of the island, called the Tynwald Mount, where it had been the custom in olden times to promulgate the laws, and there, it is recorded, he held his first court, on the 24th of June, 1418. The ceremony of this ancient court is still held annually, on the 6th of July. The form and manner of holding the Tynwald Court is contained in the laws of the island, which are embodied in one small volume. In order to give the reader some idea of the state and dignity maintained by the ancient kings or lords of Man, we subjoin the form and manner of holding the court of Tynwald:—

“How the lord should sit at the Tynwald. Our doughtful and gracious lord, this is the constitution of old times, how you should be governed on the Tynwald day. First, you shall come hither in your royal array as a king ought to be, by your prerogatives and royalties of the land of Man; and upon the hill of Tynwald sit in a chair covered with a royal cloth and cushion: your visage to the east, your royal sword before you, holden with the point upwards, and your barons in the second degree sitting beside you; your beneficed men and your deemsters sitting before you; your clerks, knights, esquires, and yeomen, about you in the third degree; and the worthiest men of the land to be called in before your deemsters. If you will ask anything of them, and to hear the government of your land and your will, and the coroners to stand without the circle of the hill with three clerks in their

surplices, then the deemster shall call in the coroner of Glanfaba, and he shall call in the coroners of Man, with their yards in their hands, with their weapons on them, either sword or axe, and the moars of every parish. Then the coroner of Glanfaba shall make fence upon life and limb, that no one shall make disturbance or stir, in the time of Tynwald; or any murmur or rising in the King's presence, on pain of hanging and drawing: and then shall let your barons and all others know you to be their lord and king, and what time you were received here, into your land, as heir apparent in your father's days; and all your barons of Man, with the worthiest men and commons, shall do you faith and fealty: and forasmuch as you are, by the grace of God, Lord and King of Man, now you will, that your commons come unto you, and shew their charters how they hold of you and the barons, that have made no faith or fealty to you, shall make it now," &c., &c.*

Having established order and restored confidence in the people, Sir John returned to England, leaving one Thursten as his deputy, with instructions for the further settlement of the state, which was still somewhat disturbed about the rights of property.

* In this formula we have no mention of the Council or "House of Keys," which, at the present time, has both a legislative and judicial character, consisting of twenty-four of the principal commoners of the island, who must have landed property, and have attained the age of twenty one. They are now a self-elected body, but were formerly chosen by the people, and were the organ by which they acted. The two deemsters have equal jurisdiction, and are judges in civil and criminal cases. The following account of certain festivals celebrated in the Isle of Man will be found interesting:—"In almost all the great parishes, they choose from the daughters of the most wealthy farmers, a young maid, for the Queen of May. She is dressed in the gayest and best manner they can, and is attended by about twenty others, who are called maids of honour. She has also a young man, who is her captain, and has under his command a good number of inferior officers. In opposition to her is the Queen of Winter, who is a man dressed in woman's clothes, with woollen hoods, fur tippets, and loaded with the warmest and heaviest one upon another; in the same manner are those who represent her attendants drest, nor is she without a captain and troop for her defence. Both being equipt as proper emblems of the beauty of the spring, and the deformity of the winter, they set forth from their respective quarters, the one preceded by violins and flutes, the other with the rough music of the tongs and cleavers. Both companies march till they meet on a common, and then their trains engage in a mock battle. If the Queen of Winter's forces get the better, so far as to take the Queen of May prisoner, she is ransomed for as much as pays the expenses of the day. After this ceremony, Winter and her company retire, and divert themselves in a barn, and the others remain on the green, where having danced a considerable time, they conclude the evening with a feast, the queen at one table with her maids, the captain with his troop at another. There are seldom less than fifty or sixty persons at each board, but not more than three or four knives. Christmas is ushered in with a form much less meaning, and more infinitely fatiguing. On the 24th of December, towards evening, all the servants in general have a holiday; they go not to bed all right, but ramble about till the bells ring in all the churches, which is at twelve o'clock; prayers being over, they go to hunt the wren, and after having found one of these poor birds, they kill her, and lay her on the bier with the utmost solemnity, bringing her to the parish church, and burying her with a whimsical kind of solemnity, singing dirges over her in the Manx language, which they call the knell; after which Christmas begins. There is not a barn unoccupied the whole twelve days, every parish hiring fiddlers at the public charge; and all the youth, nay, sometimes people well advanced in years, making no scruple to be among these nocturnal dancers."

—Walden's *Description of the Isle of Man.*

In 1427, being the fifth year of the reign of Henry VI., he was made constable of Carnarvon Castle, in Wales, a post of great honour and trust as well as of hazard in those times, for the Welsh were but young subjects to England, uneasy, and on every change of government were prone to tumult and insurrection; but Sir John, by his wisdom and good government, secured the peace in the principality, and preserved his Majesty's interest. For these signal services the King gave him a grant of lands in the counties of Carnarvon and Flint, and also by a new commission appointed him governor of Carnarvon and constable of Carnarvon Castle for life, with the fee of £40 per annum; and also constituted him sheriff of Anglesea for life, with the fee of £20 per year; and he was also made a justice of Chester. There appears to be some uncertainty respecting Sir John's wife. According to Dugdale, she was Isabel, sister of Sir William Harrington; in Collins' Peerage, by Brydges, she is represented as being the daughter or grand-daughter of Sir Robert Harrington, of Hornby; another writer makes her Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Harrington, and sister and co-heiress of Sir Robert Harrington; Sir E. Brydges, in his note on Collins, thinks her father was Sir Nicholas Harrington; and Seacombe asserts that she was the only daughter of Sir John and sister to Sir William Harrington, who, dying without issue, she became heiress to her brother, and mistress of the fine seat of Hornby Castle, near Lancaster. Sir John Stanley is represented as having been "a man truly great, of a masterly genius, beloved by his prince, and an honour to his country; a kind husband, a tender parent, and a true friend." He died in 1431, and was succeeded by his only son,

Sir Thomas Stanley, first Baron Stanley, who had been knighted some time before his father's death, and in the first year of his succession he was made lord-lieutenant of Ireland for six years, as his grandfather had been before him. On being appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, he assembled a parliament in that kingdom for the redress of certain grievances; but he was soon after recalled to England, the young King Henry VI., being then only ten years of age, when he was appointed comptroller of the royal household, and chamberlain. But by his absence, the King's minority, and the absence of military men whose services were required in France, the Irish became turbulent, and Sir John was required to return to Ireland, which he did about the year 1435; when, with the power of Meath, and other aid, he took

Moyle O'Neal prisoner, and great numbers of the Irish insurrectionists were killed. In 25, 27, 28, 29, and 33 Henry VI., he was knight or M.P. of the shire for the county of Lancaster; and on the 20th of January, 1455-6, he was summoned to Parliament as Baron Stanley. His lordship married Joan, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Robert Goushill, Knight of Hoveringham, Nottinghamshire, by Elizabeth, his wife, daughter and at length heiress of Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, by Elizabeth, his wife, daughter of William Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, by his wife, Princess Elizabeth Plantagenet, daughter of King Edward I. His lordship died in 1458-9. His contemporaries represent him as inheriting all the amiable qualities of his father and grandfather, being brave in the field, wise in the senate, just to his prince, an honour to his country, and an ornament to his family. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir Thomas. The second son was Sir William Stanley, of Holt Castle, in Denbighshire, who, after being instrumental, with his elder brother, Sir Thomas, in placing the crown on the head of Richmond, Henry VII., was beheaded. The third son, Sir John Stanley, was ancestor of the Stanleys of Weever and Alderleigh, in the county of Chester, having married Elizabeth the daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Weever, knight, in right of whom he became possessed of that estate; and from this Sir John Stanley descends the present Edward John, Lord Stanley of Alderley, the present Postmaster-General. James, the fourth son, was Archdeacon of Carlisle. Besides the four sons now mentioned, Thomas, first Lord Stanley, had three daughters, the eldest, Elizabeth, being married to Sir Richard Molyneux, ancestor of the Earls of Sefton, who was slain at the battle of Bloreheath, in 1459.

THOMAS, FIRST EARL OF DERBY.

We have already stated that the first Lord Stanley was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir Thomas Stanley, who, as we shall have to notice, became the First Earl of Derby of the Stanley family.* He was summoned to Parliament in 1461,

* The first Earl of Derby was Robert de Ferrers, so created, in 1137, by King Stephen for his valour at the head of the Derbyshire men at the battle of the Standard, and the earldom descended from father to son, to Robert de Ferrers, the 8th earl, who, having been defeated, in the reign of Henry III., in a pitched battle by Prince Henry-Edmond, eldest son of the Prince of Almaine, at Chesterfield, he was conveyed prisoner to London, and there totally disinherited by the Parliament then sitting at Westminster, as well of the Earldom of Derby as of his other possessions. This nobleman died the 7th Edward I., and was the last Earl of Derby of the House of Ferrers. From this period the county of Derby had no earl until the reign of Edward III., when Henry Plantagenet, eldest son and heir of Henry, Earl of Lancaster, having distinguished himself in the Scottish wars,

being the first year of the reign of Edward IV., and in the 22nd year of that King's reign he commanded the right wing of the British army at the taking of Berwick, under the Duke of Clarence, brother of the King, and of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, who became the Protector, and afterwards Richard III. Lord Stanley, during the early part of his public life, was much engaged in supporting the cause of Edward IV., by whom he was rewarded with various posts of honour. He married, for his first wife, Eleanor, daughter of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury and sister to the "king-making" Earl of Warwick, by whom he had six sons:—Thomas and Richard died young; the third son was George, Lord Strange, who married Jane, the daughter and heiress of John, Lord Strange, of Knockyn, who was summoned to Parliament as Lord Strange in the 22nd year of the reign of Edward IV.; the fifth son was Sir Edward Stanley, of Hornby Castle, Lancashire. This gallant soldier, Sir Edward Stanley, commanded the rear of the English army at the battle of Flodden Field, on the 9th September, 1513, where he performed distinguished service. On that memorable occasion, on the extreme right of the Scottish army, a division of Highland clans were so dreadfully annoyed by the volleys of Sir Edward Stanley's archers, that they broke their ranks and were thrown into confusion, notwithstanding the cries, entreaties, and signals of the French ambassador, De la Motte, to hold their position, but which they could not do, for the men of Lancashire and Cheshire routed them with great slaughter: and the severe execution of the Lancashire archers—

"A stock of striplings stronge of heart
Brought vp from babes w'th beefe and bread"—

was especially distinguished on that occasion, who,

"With children chosen from Cheshire,
In armour bold for battle drest;
And many a gentleman, and squire,
Were under Stanley's streamer prest."

In the struggle of the day the main body of the English army,

in the lifetime of his father, was made Captain-General of the King's forces in Scotland, and created, 11th Edward III., Earl of Derby. This was one of the most eminent nobles of his time, and bore, at the siege of Calais, where he had a chief command, the titles of Earl of Lancaster, Derby, and Leicester, and Steward of England. He was subsequently created Earl of Lincoln and made a knight of the Garter, and eventually Duke of Lancaster. The Duke lived, probably, in one of the most glorious, at least the most martial, periods of English history, and was himself a principal actor in the splendid drama. He left two daughters only. The elder, Maud, died without issue; the younger, Blanch, married John of Gaunt, and upon the accession of her son, Henry of Bolingbroke, to the throne, as Henry IV., the Earldom of Derby merged in the Crown, and it so remained until conferred by Henry VII. upon the House of Stanley.—See *Burke's Peerage*. It is a mistake to suppose that the Earls of Derby take their title from the Hundred of West Derby, or from the township of West Derby, a prevailing idea with some who are unacquainted with the origin and history of the title, from the fact, no doubt, that Knowsley, the seat of the Derby family, adjoins the township of West Derby, or is in the Hundred of West Derby.

under Lord Surrey, was in great danger of being defeated by that of the Scots, which was under the command of the King of Scotland, James IV. Sir Edward Stanley, however, after routing the Scottish Highlanders, came up on one flank of the King's division, when, being also assailed on the other, the gallant King James fell with the flower of his nobility, and the English were victorious. The reader will remember Sir Walter Scott's celebrated lines on the death of Marmion, which have reference to the gallant charge of Sir Edward Stanley's archers, and the fall of the Scottish monarch,—

“Charge, Chester, charge!—on, *Stanley*, on!”

Henry VIII., keeping his Whitsuntide at Eltham the next year, 1514, commanded that Sir Edward Stanley, for these valiant acts and important services rendered on the battle field of Flodden against the Scots, where he won the hill, and vanquished all that opposed him, as also that his ancestors bore the eagle in their crest, should there be proclaimed Lord of Monteagle, and he was subsequently summoned to Parliament in that style and dignity, and he was also elected a Knight of the Garter. This Lord Monteagle's grandson, William Stanley, third Lord of Monteagle, died in 1581, leaving, by Ellen, his wife, daughter of Sir Thomas Preston, of Preston Patrick and Levens, in Westmoreland, an only daughter, Elizabeth, who became his heiress, and, marrying Edward Parker, Lord Morley, conveyed the Barony of Monteagle into that family. The dignity is now in abeyance. It will be remembered that the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, in 1605, was owing to an anonymous letter of mysterious import being sent to Lord Monteagle, the son of Lord Morley, who conveyed it to Lord Salisbury, the then Secretary of State. The mysterious words in this letter were, “The Parliament shall receive a terrible blow, and shall not see from whose hands it comes.” The sixth son of Lord Stanley was James Stanley, Warden of Manchester and Bishop of Ely.

Let us now return to notice further the noble career of Lord Stanley. It has been already observed that he was a firm supporter of the interests of Edward IV.; and we find that after the King's death he was no less faithful in his allegiance to the young King Edward V. This so incensed the Protector, Richard Duke of Gloucester, brother to the late King, that he not only meditated the destruction of the young King and his brother, but also the death of Lord Stanley and Lord Hastings, the latter of whom, as history informs us, was taken from the council-table, and beheaded; and Lord

Stanley, who was present at the time, received a severe wound on the head with a halberd or pole-axe from one of the soldiers introduced by Richard the Protector, which wounded Lord Stanley on the head, and would have had fatal effect if he had not suddenly stooped under the table. Lord Stanley, though wounded and suffering from the loss of blood, which shews that the murderous hand had been lifted intentionally, and was no mere accident, was arrested and thrust into prison. After this, the Protector, Richard Duke of Gloucester, obtained possession of the persons of the young King Edward V. and his brother, both being placed in the Tower, preparatory, as was pretended, to Prince Edward being crowned, when he caused himself to be suddenly elevated to the throne on an assertion of illegitimacy of the young princes, who after this were seen no more, being probably made away with by Richard's orders: for the young King and his brother were smothered in their beds and buried in the Tower,* the agents being Sir Robert Brackenbury, Sir James Tyrrel, Miles Forest, and John Dighton. Richard, the Protector, having cleared the way for himself becoming King of England, unexpectedly liberated Lord Stanley from prison, fearing, it is supposed, that George, Lord Strange, the son of Lord Stanley, might cause an insurrection to set him free, and thus endanger Richard's possession of the Crown; for the usurper strongly suspected that Lord Strange was negotiating measures on his estates in Lincolnshire to oppose him by force of arms, and so Richard, by this hypocritical favour towards Lord Stanley, hoped to reclaim him, and win the interest of the Stanley family to his vile and impious cause. The sequel, however, will show that Richard's stratagem was a failure.

Lord Stanley seems to have borne the mace at Richard's coronation, and the King constituted him steward of the household; and on the 16th of December, in the first year of Richard III.'s reign, he was made constable of all England for life, with the fee of £100 per annum, payable out of the King's revenue in the county of Lancaster, with power to make a deputy; and the King also installed him a knight companion of the most noble Order of the Garter.

After the death of Lady (Eleanor) Stanley, his first wife, who was buried at Burscough Priory, in the latter part of the

* On the 17th July, 1674, in making some alterations in the Tower, the labourers found, covered with a heap of stones at the foot of an old flight of stairs, a quantity of partially consumed bones, which on examination appeared to be those of two boys of the ages of the two murdered princes. They were removed by order of Charles II. to Henry VII.'s Chapel, in Westminster Abbey, where the inscription placed over them recites that they appeared by undoubted indications to be those of Edward V. and his brother.

reign of Edward IV., Lord Stanley married, for his second wife, a very distinguished personage, this lady being the celebrated Margaret of Lancaster, daughter and heiress of John Beaufort, first Duke of Somerset, grandson of John of Gaunt and Catherine Swinford. The Countess had already been twice married. She was first espoused in marriage to Edmund, Earl Richmond, half-brother of Henry VI., and son of Sir Owen Tudor and Catherine of France, relict of Henry V., who died in 1456, little more than a year after the nuptials, but to whom she bore a son, who received the name of Henry, and who, as we shall have to notice, became Henry VII., King of England. The Countess married, for her second husband, Sir Henry Stafford, uncle to the Duke of Buckingham. Her third marriage, with Lord Stanley, was a most exceptional alliance—indeed the only one of the kind on record—and one which, it might reasonably be inferred, judging from the portraits of his lordship—with his keen bright eye, flowing beard, high forehead, masculine physiognomy, and his true appreciation of conjugal affection, as evidenced in his will,—could never have included him as a contracting party to such a *marriage de convenance*. The Countess was remarkable for the rigour of her devotions, and she had made a vow, after the death of her second husband, never to admit a third to her bed. She therefore requested and obtained from Lord Stanley, her future lord and husband, a licence of chastity, which she vowed according to prescribed form, in the presence of her chaplain and confessor, “the wise, learned, pious, and candid John Fisher,” for whom, in the year 1504, the year of Lord Stanley’s death, she obtained the bishopric of Rochester.* After taking the vow, the Countess is said to have led a life of mortification, and wore girdles and shifts of hair, even to the delacerating of her tender skin; and, presuming from her general appearance, as represented in her portrait, we dare undertake to express our belief in the fact that she not only made the vow of chastity ascribed to her, but kept it inviolate. Her portrait sets her before us as the very incarnation of a saint already half exhaled, arrayed in the muffled habit of a religionist, with uplifted hands in the attitude of prayer, and her breviary laid open on the cushion before her, which gives to her a sanctimonious mood strikingly different to that of her third husband, Lord Stanley.

* Bishop Fisher was created a Cardinal while in prison and under sentence of death, and was beheaded by Henry VIII., the grandson of his patroness, for denying his supremacy; and, no doubt, the bestowal by the Pope of this empty dignity precipitated the prelate’s fate.

The princes, the sons of Edward IV., were now dead, and the tyrant Richard was King of England; but never was there in any country an usurpation more flagrant to every principle of justice and public interest; and Richard himself having thus burdened his soul with an inheritance of remorse to ascend the throne of England soon began to have indications that it was not to be enjoyed with security. His title was never acknowledged by any national assembly, scarcely even by the lowest populace to whom he appealed; and his usurpation was tolerated merely for want of some person of distinction to stand forth against him and give a voice to those sentiments of general detestation which arose in every bosom. Henry, Earl of Richmond, now the son-in-law of Lord Stanley, was in the full vigour of manhood, and had long been the hope of the Lancastrians in particular, and of the country generally, and the universal detestation of Richard's conduct turned still more the attention of the English nation towards the young Earl of Richmond. Of this galling fact, Richard, whose suspicions were ever alive, was fully aware; and that he might have the more secure confidence in the allegiance of Lord Stanley, and prevent him from exciting an insurrection in Lancashire and Cheshire, where his power and influence were almost supreme, the King insisted that George Lord Strange should remain in his hands as a hostage. Richard's suspicions, too, were still further increased by the circumstance of Lord Stanley having married, for his second wife, the mother of Henry Earl of Richmond, the representative of the royal house of Lancaster; and his displeasure was subsequently marked by an act of attainder against the Countess of Richmond, setting forth that,—“Forasmuch as Margaret Countesse of Richmond, Mother to the Kyngs greate Rebelle & Traytour, Herry Erle of Richmond, hath of late conspired, confedered, & committed high Treason agenst oure Sovereaigne Lorde the King Richard the Third, in dyvers & sundry wyse, & in especiall in sendyng messages, writyngs & tokens to the said Henry, desiryng, procuryng, & stirryng hym by the same, to come into this Roialme, and make Werre agenst oure Sovereaigne Lorde; to the whiche desyre, procuryng, and stirrynge the said Henry applied hym, as it appeareth by experience by hym late shewed in that behalf. Also the said Countesse made chevisancez of greate somes of money, as well within the Citie of London, as in other places of this Roialme to be employed to the execution of the said Treason and malicious purpose; & also the said

Countesse conspired, confedered & imagyned the destruction of oure said Sovereigne Lord, & was assentyng, knowyng & assistyng Henry, late Duke of Buckyngham." To what extent the charges contained in this act of attainder were founded is difficult to state, but it does not appear that the Countess was ever removed from Lathom House to take her trial on the charges therein contained, though it was strictly enjoined that she should be kept in ward by Lord Stanley, her husband, in private apartments, and not to be suffered to hold any intercourse or communication with the King's enemies. It scarcely needs to be stated that one of the first acts in her son's reign was to annul this act of attainder.

Edward IV., the brother of Richard, had, long before his death, regarded young Richmond as his rival, and had pursued him into his retreat in Britany, whither his uncle, the Earl of Pembroke, had carried him after the battle of Tewkesbury, which was so fatal to his party.

Richard's inhuman and unnatural conduct seems to have had no limits, for, to add to his other atrocities, we are told he had actually formed the project of marrying his niece, the Princess Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward IV. and sister to the princes who had been so brutally murdered by his own foul designs. The exiles who had declared their aversion to the diabolical inhumanity of the usurper, were in communication with the Earl of Richmond in Britany, and exhorted him to hasten his attempt for a new invasion, and prevent the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth, which would prove fatal to the realisation of his hopes. The plot was also further thickened by the Duke of Buckingham, who, having quarrelled with Richard, whom he had made King, was now anxious to unravel his whole work, and transfer the crown to the Earl of Richmond. The exiles on the Continent lost no time in flocking under the standard of Richmond, and these, with a number of French adventurers, composed altogether a small army of about 2,000 men. With these Richmond set sail from Harfleur in Normandy, and, after a voyage of six days, he arrived at Milford Haven, on the 7th of August, 1485. Richard was ignorant in what quarter a landing would be made; his coffers were impoverished; and he knew not which of his nobles to trust; and thus the danger to which Richard was exposed arose not so much from the cause and zeal of his open enemies as from the estrangement of his friends, for such a tyrant could scarcely expect to enjoy the real friendship of honourable men.

At this time Lord Stanley occupied a critical and important position in the country, being constable of all England, and father-in-law of Earl Richmond, the rival of Richard. Lord Stanley and his brother, Sir William Stanley, were noblemen having great influence in the country, and, as the *Metrical Chronicle*, already alluded to, says, at

“That tyme the Stanleys without dowte,
Were dred over England ferre and nee,
Next Kynge Richard that was so stowte,
Of any Lord in England free;”

And Richard, as if seeking to retain his favour and interest, is, by the same chronicler, made to say to Lord Stanley—

“Half of England shall be thine,
And equally devyded betweene thee and me,
I am thyne, and thou art myne,
And soe two fellowes wyll we be,
I sweare by Marye maiden mylde
I knowe none such under the skye.”

The situation in which Lord Stanley was placed, notwithstanding his apparent loyalty to Richard, made his lordship and his brother, Sir William Stanley, objects of the gravest suspicion, for the tyrant could never forget or overlook Lord Stanley's connexion with the family of Richmond, therefore, when he empowered Lord Stanley to raise forces to give battle to the invader, Earl Richmond, he still retained his lordship's eldest living son, Lord Strange, as a pledge for his fidelity; and thus it became Lord Stanley, as a parent, to exercise great caution and reserve in his proceedings. Lord Stanley and his brother had raised in Lancashire and Cheshire 5,000 men; and Lord Stanley is said to have given secret assurances of his friendly intention towards Richmond, having had a private interview with him the day before the battle, at Atherstone, about six miles from Bosworth. Shakspeare has immortalised the interview at Atherstone between Earl Richmond and Lord Stanley on the night before the battle of Bosworth Field in the following dialogue, in Act v., Scene III. of his “King Richard III.”—

Stanley.—Fortune and victory sit on thy helm!

Richmond.—All comfort that the dark night can afford
Be to thy person, noble father-in-law!
Tell me how fares our loving mother?

Stanley.—I by attorney, bless thee from thy mother,
Who prays continually for Richmond's good:
So much for that.—The silent hours steal on,
And flaky darkness breaks within the east.
In brief, for so the season bids us be,
Prepare thy battle early in the morning;
And put thy fortune to the arbitrement
Of bloody strokes, and mortal-staring war,
I, as I may, (that which I would, I cannot,)
With best advantage will deceive the time,
And aid thee in this doubtful shock of arms:
But on thy side I may not be too forward,
Lest, being seen, thy brother tender George
Be executed in his father's sight.
Farewell: The leisure and the fearful time

Cuts off the ceremonious vows of love,
 And ample interchange of sweet discourse,
 Which so long sunder'd friends should dwell upon ;
 God give us leisure for these rites of love !
 Once more, adieu :—Be valiant, and speed well !

Richmond.—Good lords, conduct him to his regiment :

I'll strive, with troubled thoughts, to take a nap ;
 Lest leaden slumber peize* me down to-morrow,
 When I should mount with wings of victory :
 Once more, good night, kind lords and gentlemen.

The dawn of the day found the two hostile armies on the battle field of Bosworth, Richard in command of 12,000, and Richmond of about half that number. Up to this time the armies on both sides knew not what to infer from the proceedings of Lord Stanley. Under these doubtful circumstances, the rival armies approached each other at Bosworth, near Leicester. A decisive struggle was now imminent : Richard was an experienced commander, and was no stranger to actual warfare. He presumed his popularity with his army, flattering them with the following address :—" I hold the crown from you, and you must maintain it. Who is our adversary ? An unknown Welshman ; begotten by a father less known than himself ; and commanding a force consisting of banished vagabonds, the very scum of the earth, and of beggarly Frenchmen, come here to plunder your goods, to ravish your wives, and to murder your children. When fighting with such an enemy, success is certain. When the victory is obtained, you, my followers, shall share the bounty of a generous prince. In the cause of your King, you will fight like Englishmen ; and as for myself, I will never quit the field but as a conqueror." Earl Richmond had never yet fought a battle. His cause, however, was a just one, and having " his quarrel just," was thrice armed for the contest. Placing himself at the head of his camp, he appealed to his soldiers whether it was not for the public interest and the welfare of the country that the tyrant Richard, to whom they were opposed, should be extirpated—a man who had destroyed his own house by the effusion of innocent blood, and defamed the mother who had given him birth, to smooth his way to the Crown. Addressing his army, the youthful Richmond said, " The hour of retribution has now arrived ; and God's judgment, though it has been deferred, will fall upon our adversary, who seeks, by the marriage of Princess Elizabeth, to add incest to his other crimes. You ought not to be dismayed by the superior numbers of the enemy ; divine justice is at our side ; his own friends will desert the tyrant in the hour of his extremity, and already Lord Stanley has deter-

mined, with the forces under his command, to support the righteous cause. If your efforts are crowned with victory, all the confiscated possessions of the enemy shall be distributed amongst you ; but should you be defeated, you will fall into the hands of him, who, not having spared his own blood, would infallibly consign you to destruction. It is better to die with swords in your hands, than to become the victims of a relentless tyrant : of myself, I shall only say, that I am the descendant of the House of Lancaster, the glory of the kingdom they have ruled. All you can expect from a soldier, and from a commander, you shall find in me ; and all I ask of you is, to follow my example in the hour of battle." Lord Stanley, who had now under his command about 5,000 followers, posted himself at Atherstone, no great distance from the hostile camps, upon which King Richard sent him the message that unless he forthwith repaired to his presence he would put his son, Lord Strange, to death, to which Lord Stanley sent the following reply, "that he might do his pleasure, he had more sons, and could not come." On receiving Lord Stanley's reply, the tyrant, "as he had sworn to do, ordered the Lord Strange to be beheaded at the instant the two armies were to engage, but some of his council told him *that* was a time to fight and not to execute." On this advice the King seems to have acted, for he remanded Lord Strange in the tents till the battle was over, thinking, no doubt, that a victory over Earl Richmond would enable him to take ample revenge on all his enemies, open and concealed. It was on the 23rd of August, 1485, that the battle of Bosworth was fought. The van of Richmond's army, being archers, were under the command of the Earl of Oxford ; Sir Gilbert Talbot commanded the right wing, and Sir John Savage the left, and young Earl Richmond himself, accompanied by his uncle, the Earl of Pembroke, took command of the main body. Richard also commanded the main body of his army, and his trusty friend, the Duke of Norfolk, commanded the van. As soon as the battle was commenced, Lord Stanley, who had exercised great caution and ability in his movements, instantly rushed into the battle with his followers on the side of Richmond, which, as Hume says, "had a proportional effect on both armies : It inspired unusual courage in Henry's soldiers : It threw Richard's into dismay and confusion." Richard, seeing his desperate situation, cast his eyes around the field, and perceiving young Richmond at no great distance, he rushed against him with savage fury, in the expectation that his own,

or Richmond's death would decide the victory between them. In his desperation he killed, with his own hands, Sir William Brandon, the standard-bearer to Richmond, and dismounted Sir John Cheyney; but being now within reach of Earl Richmond himself, who appeared also eager for the combat, Sir William Stanley came up with his troops, about 2,000 in number, and interposed, and surrounded Richard and his troops, when Richard fell in a most bloody struggle, desperately fighting to the last, being pierced with innumerable wounds and covered with gore, and looking terrible even in death. Thus Richard lost both his crown and his life! The victory was decisive; and while yet on the battle field, there resounded from all quarters the acclamation, *Long live Henry the Seventh!* and, to give the election some degree of formality, Lord Stanley, or Sir William Stanley, brought "a crown of ornament," which had been worn by Richard in the battle, and put it on the head of the victor:—

"The Earle of Darby tooke the crowne
And set it on the head
Of Henry Richmond,—proclaim'd him King
In the Usurper's stead:
Sir William Standley, brother to
The Earl, gave his assistance,
And through the army led him King
Without any resistance.
Many fair Nobles of the Bloud
That day gave their best ayd,
And full of honour for their actes
They march't with arms displaid.
Lord Strange strangely scap't with life.
Henry the Seventh now
Reigns England's King, to whom all loyall
Hearts and knees doe bowe.
He woos and wins, and takes to wife
Elizabeth, the heire
Of Edward late the Fourth, a dame
Both vertuous and faire,
And here of Lancaster and Yorke
The ancient quarrell ends;
The Roses Red and White are joyn'd,
All Royal Blouds are frends."

Richard's body being stripped naked, all tugged and torn, "and not so much as a clout to cover his shame, was trussed behind a pursuivant at arms like a hog or a calf; his head and arms hung on one side the horse, and his legs on the other, all besprinkled with mire and blood;" and a rope was tied about his neck, more to insult the fallen monarch than to fasten him to the horse, and was so carried to Leicester. After lying in this degraded manner exposed to the inspection and insults of the populace, the tyrant's body, at the end of the second day, was put into a stone coffin and taken and buried in the Grey Friars Church.

The following singular account of Richard's struggle with Sir William Stanley, and his death, is given in an old MS.,

and may be interesting to the reader :—"Whan the vaward began to fight, Kynge Henry dyd full manfully; so did the Erle of Oxford, so did Sir John Savage; Sir Robert Talbert did the lyke; Sir Hughe Percivall allso, with many othar. Kynge Richard, in a marris, dyd stand nombered to xx thousand, and thre undar his bannar. Sir William Stanley rememberinge the brekfast that he promysed him, downe at a banke he hyed, and set fiersly on the kynge: ther countrey'd together sadly. The archers let theyr arrows flye; they shot of goonns; many a bannar began to show that was on Richard's partye; with grownd wepons they joyned; there dyed many a dowghty knyght. Then to Kynge Richard ther cam a knyght, and sayd, 'I hold it tyme for ye to flye; yonder Stanley his dynts be so sore, agaynst them may no man stand. Her is thy hors for to ryde: an othar day ye may worship wyne.' He sayd, 'Bring me my battayl axe in my hand, and set the crowne of gold on my hed so hye; for, by hym that shope bothe se and sand, kynge of England this day will I dye; one foot away I will not fle, whill brethe wyll byde my brest within.' As he sayd, so did he; he lost his lyffe. On his standard then fast they dyd light. They hewyd the crown of gold from his hed with dowbtful dents: his death was dyght."*

* The day previously to the battle on Bosworth Field Richard entered the town of Leicester, and took up his quarters for the night at the Blue Boar Inn, and the bedstead occupied by him that night is still preserved, and is an object of peculiar interest. Its history is thus related :—"In the year 1613, Mrs. Clark, keeper of that inn, was robbed by her servant maid and seven men, and the relation is thus given by Sir Roger Twisden, who had it from persons of undoubted credit, who were not only inhabitants of Leicester, but saw the murderers executed :—"When King Richard III. marched into Leicestershire against Henry, Earl of Richmond, afterwards Henry VII., he lay at the Blue Boar Inn, in the town of Leicester, where was left a large wooden bedstead, gilded in some places, which, after his defeat and death in the battle of Bosworth, was left, either through haste, or as a thing of little value (the bedding being all taken from it) to the people of the house: thenceforward, this old bedstead, which was boarded at the bottom (as the manner was in those days) became a piece of standing furniture, and passed from tenant to tenant with the inn. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, this house was kept by one Mr. Clark, who put a bed on this bedstead; which his wife going to make hastily, and jumbling the bedstead, a piece of gold dropped out. This excited the woman's curiosity; she narrowly examined this antiquated piece of furniture, and, finding it had a double bottom, took off the uppermost with a chisel, upon which she discovered the space between them filled with gold, part of it coined by Richard III., and the rest of it in earlier times. Mr. Clark (her husband) concealed this piece of good fortune, though by degrees, the effects of it made it known, for he became rich from a low condition, and, in the space of a few years, mayor of the town; and then the story of the bedstead came to be rumoured by the servants. At his death, he left his estate to his wife, who still continued to keep the inn, though she was known to be very rich; which put some wicked persons upon engaging the maid-servant to assist in robbing her. These folks, to the number of seven, lodged in her house, plundered it, and carried off some horse-loads of valuable things, and yet left a considerable quantity of valuables scattered about the floor. As for Mrs. Clark herself, who was very fat, she endeavoured to cry out for help, upon which her maid thrust her fingers down her throat, and choked her; for which fact she was burnt, and the seven men, who were her accomplices, were hanged at Leicester some time in the year 1613."—In the beginning of June, this year (1862), a human skeleton was discovered at the Bow Bridge, Leicester, and it has created considerable discussion amongst the antiquarians of the town, some of whom have asserted that the remains are those of Richard III. It was over Bow Bridge, we are told, that Richard III. with his army rode to the neighbourhood of Bosworth, and where, striking his spur against the parapet, an aged woman cursed

The number slain in the battle of Bosworth Field is differently stated, varying from a thousand to four thousand. A large portion of the spoils of the field fell into the hands of Sir William Stanley, and were allowed, by the King's permission, to enrich that gallant knight for his bravery.

Immediately after the victory at Bosworth, preparations were made for the ceremony of Henry's coronation; and, in order to mark and heighten the splendour of the ceremony, on the 27th of October, Lord Stanley was advanced to the earldom by the title of Earl of Derby, and Henry's uncle, the Earl of Pembroke, was created Duke of Bedford, and Edward Courteney, Earl of Devonshire; the young nobleman, Lord Strange, regained his liberty; and Sir William Stanley was made lord chamberlain. King Henry also conferred upon his father-in-law, the Earl of Derby, all the estates in the north, forfeited by the Yorkists for adhering to Richard III., the extent of which will appear from the following document:—

“Pat: 4 H. 7. Rex concessit Thomæ Comiti Derby pro sustentatione status sui 40^{li} annuatim exeun: de manerio de Derby in Co Lanc:; And the Manors or Lordships of Holand, Nether Kellet, Halywode, Samelesbury, Pilkington, Bury, Chetham, Chetewode, Halywall, Broughton in ffournes and Bolton in ffournes with their appertenances & a moiety of the manors of Balderston, Syngleton, Bretherton and Thornton with their app^s in Co Lanc. And also all those lands and tenements, rents and services with their app^s in Holand, Orrell, Dalton, Nether Kellet, Halywode, Samelesbury, Keverdeley, Walton, Lan:, Wigan, Aghton, Skelmersdale and Sutton in Co Lanc: which belonged to Francis Viscount Lovell & which have come into our hands by reason of the attainder of the said Francis Visc^t L.: And all those lands and services with their app^s in Pilkington, Bury, Cheteham, Chetewode, Tottington, Undesworth, Salford, Shuttleworth, Shippalbotham, Middelton & Oversfeld with y^r app^s in Co Lanc: which have come into our hands by reason of the Attainder of Sir Thomas Pilkington Knt. And all those lands &c in Haliwall & Smithells in Co Lanc: and which have come (as before) by reason of the Attainder of Robert Hilton. And all those lands &c in Broughton in ffournes,

him, and told him when next he came that way his head should strike where his heel had struck. Tradition and history both relate that the remains of Richard III. were taken up from their grave in the church of the Grey Friars, and carried away by the multitude, and thrown over the Bow Bridge into the river. According to the paragraph which has appeared in the newspapers, “the bones or skull, recently discovered, bore not the slightest resemblance of having been struck or fractured,” whereas Richard's body was “hacked to pieces.” Richard died at the age of 35, and the bones discovered are stated to be those of a man apparently about 30.

Bolton in ffournes, Soelbythwayt, Elslack, Ursewyk, Ulverston, Merton, Brittby & Cartmell in the s^d Co: which have come &c by reason &c of Sir Thomas Broughton Knt. And all those lands &c in Balderston, Singleton, Bretherton, Thornton, Holmes, Hamilton, Little Hull, Dilworth, Plumpton, Broughton, Elsewycke, Sawreby, Gosenargh, Claghton, Singleton, Preston, Ribbleston, Stalmyn, Lanc^r. Inelargh, ffrekleton, Croston, Halghton, Whittingham, Billesburgh and ffarrington in Co Lanc., which have &c by reason &c of James Harrington Esq^r.”*

Sir William Stanley, just ten years after his gallant services on behalf of Henry VII. on the battle field of Bosworth, was arrested and tried on the pretence of conspiring to aid the cause of Perkin Warbeck, the pretended son of Edward IV. Sir Robert Clifford, a rebel and a traitor to his sovereign, was directed by Henry to come over to England, and to throw himself at the King's feet while he sat in council, which the despicable wretch did; and not only so, but offered to atone for his disloyalty and conspiracy by the performance of any services which the King might impose upon him. Henry intimated to him, that the best proof he could give of his penitence, and the only service he could render him, was the full confession of his guilt, and the disclosure of the names of all his abettors and accomplices, however distinguished by rank or character. Encouraged by this exhortation, Clifford, before the council, openly accused Sir William Stanley, the lord chamberlain, as his chief abettor, and charged the brave and noble Sir William with having said, “That if he certainly knew the young man, who had appeared in Flanders, called Perkin, to be really the son of Edward the Fourth, he would never draw his sword or bear arms against him.” Sir William himself could not manifest more surprise than was affected by the King on the occasion. Henry received the intelligence as absolutely false and incredible, and refused to believe a charge of conspiracy against a man to whom he was in great measure beholden for his crown, and even for his life; a man to whom by every honour and favour he had endeavoured to express his gratitude; whose brother, the Earl of Derby, was his father-in-law, or stepfather, and to whom he had even committed the trust of his person by creating him lord chamberlain: That such a man enjoying his full confidence and

* Dodsworth's MSS., vol. 146, p. 123.—Roger Dodsworth, died in August, 1654, and was buried at Rufford, in Lancashire. His manuscript collections form 162 volumes folio and quarto, and 122 of them in his own hand-writing, which are now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Dodsworth also collected many of the materials for *Dugdale's Monasticon*.

affection should engage in a conspiracy against him, he affected not to credit; and he exhorted Clifford to weigh well the consequences of his accusation. Clifford, however, persisted in his asseverations, and Sir William Stanley was committed to prison. After six weeks' delay, which was allowed to intervene, in order to shew that the King was restrained by doubts and scruples, Sir William was brought to trial, when, either trusting to the greatness of his services rendered, the King's favour, his own innocence, or the lightness of the crime with which he was charged, he neither denied nor acknowledged his guilt—a fact which has puzzled historians.—Sir William was therefore adjudged guilty, and condemned to death; and accordingly, on the 16th February, 1495, he was conducted to Tower Hill, London, and there beheaded; and all his estates and effects, real and personal, which were very great—being £3,000 a year in land, and 40,000 marks in plate and ready money, besides other property of great value—were confiscated to the King; and the prospect of so rich a forfeiture has been deemed no small motive for a man so meanly avaricious as Henry was for proceeding to extremities against Sir William Stanley, who was then looked upon as the richest subject in the kingdom. Ford, in his tragedy of “Perkin Warbeck,” makes Sir William, on his going to the scaffold, to say:—

“My next suit is, my Lords,
To be remembered to my noble brother
Derby; my much griev'd brother. Oh, persuade him
That I shall stand no blemish to his house
In chronicles writ in another age.
* * * * *

Tell him he must not think *the style of Derby*
Nor being husband to King *Henry's* mother,
The league with Peers, the smiles of fortune, can
Secure his peace above the state of man.”

After the execution of Sir William Stanley, we are told, “King Henrie did take his progresse into Lancashire the 25th daie of June, there to make merrie with his moother the Countesse of Derby, which then laiè at Lathome in the countrie.”* Lathom House at this time stood in all its ancient splendour. It may not be deemed out of place to notice here a pleasing tradition connected with King Henry's visit to Knowsley and Lathom, particularly as it is not generally known. It is recorded in Kennitt's MSS. 1033, fo. 47, and is as follows:—“A notable tradition yet remaining in the noble family of Stanley is, that when K. H. 7, after the execution of Sir Wm. Stanley, brother to Thomas, Earl

* Hollingshed's Chron., vol. III., p. 510.

of Derby, came a progress into these parts. He was entertained by the Earl at his house at Lathom, and after a view of the whole house, he was conducted by his lordship to the top of the leads for a prospect of the country. The Earl's fool was in company, who, observing the King draw near to the edge of the leads, not guarded with bannisters, stepped up to the Earl, and pointing down the precipice, said, '*Tom, remember Will.*' The King understood the meaning, and made all haste down stairs, and out of the house, and the fool long after seemed mightily concerned that his lord had not courage to take that opportunity of revenging himself for the death of his brother." The King, after spending a month with the Earl and Countess his mother, returned to London.

On September 20th, 1486, Henry VII. having married the Princess Elizabeth, the Prince Arthur was born, to whom the Earl of Derby stood godfather; and in 1496 the noble Earl was employed in some diplomatic missions to the French Court. He died in 1504, and was buried at the Priory Church of Burscough.

It has been already observed that the Earl of Derby had issue by Eleanor, his first wife, six sons, three of whom we shall have to notice more at large presently. It scarcely needs to be remarked, that by his second wife, Margaret, the Countess of Richmond and Derby, and mother of Henry VII., he had no issue. As has been facetiously observed, like the famous ancestor of the Earls of Dalhousie, "the laird o' Cockpen," Thomas, the first Earl of Derby, certainly had for his bride, so far as rank and title were concerned,

"a weel tappit hen,—
But nae chickens at all had the laird o' Cockpen."

This celebrated lady, having survived her third husband, died on the 12th of July, 1509, three months after the accession of her grandson, Henry VIII., to the throne of England, and was buried in the superb chapel which had been previously erected in Westminster Abbey. Weever, in his *Monuments*, p. 477, says of Henry the Seventh's chapel,—

"Here lieth magnificently entombed Margaret Countess of Richmond and Derby, and only heire to John Duke of Somerset and first married to Edmond son of Owen Tudor, who begat Henry the seventh King of England, and afterwards to Thomas Stanley, Earl of Derby. Two Colleges namely of Christ and St. John the Baptist she erected for Students at Cambridge. She instituted also two divinity lectures, one at Cambridge and the other at Oxenford. Who having lived so long to see her grandchild, Henry the eighth, crowned King, died the 12 July 1509 in the first year of his reign. Here is a long elegy made to her memory by the aforesaid Skelton with this terrible curse to all those that shall treade, spoil, or take it away :

'Qui lacerat, violatve, capit, presens Epitoma,
Hunc laceretque voret Cerberus absq; mora,
Hanc tecum Statuas Dominam precor O Sator orbis,
Quo regnas rutilans Rex sine fine manens.'

The following is a copy of the will (Dodsworth's MSS., vol. 22, p. 95) of Thomas, first Earl of Derby:—

"I Thomas Erle of Derb' and Lord Stanley, Lord of Man and Great Constable of England bequeth my body to be buried in the midst of the chapel in the North Ile of the Church of the Priory of Burscough in the Co: Lanc. of the foundation of me and myne ancestors, whereas the bodies of my Lord fader & my Lady moder & all myne ancestors bene buried. Itm I will that the Tombes which I have purveyed & caused to be made for me & the personage of myne owne good Lady wief & for Alionore late my wife for a perpetual remembrance to be prayed for, to be set in the Chapel aforesaid whereas my body shall be buried. Also I will that personages which I have caused to be made for my Lord my fader my Lady my moder, myne arell [? äieul, grandfather] myne arell [? äicule, grandmother] my Behaill [? bisäieul, great grandfather] & my Behaills [? bisäieule, great grandmother] be sett in the Arches in the Chauncell of the said Pryory of Burscough in the places appointed for the same. Itm whereas my son Sir Edward Stanley was bound in gret somes to make unto my Lady Grey his wief c^{li} a yere of my lands I will that itt be done & that my said son Edward have the manors of Hoveringham & Alyuthcham & other lands for life to the value of c m'ks. Itm whereas I have enfeoffed James Stanley clerk my son, Henry Keighley, John Ireland, Henry Halsall Knights, Thomas Hesketh, Thomas Atherton of Bykerstath, Gilbert Scaresbreke late deceased, William Gerard of Ince, Rafe Orrell Squyres, by my deed dat 27 April 15 H. 7. of all my lands in Frekylton, Preston &c to the use of myself &c. Itm I bequeth to Elizabeth & Jane dau^s of my son Strange cc m'ks towards their marriage. Itm whereas both I and my son Strange hath made grete costs and charges upon Henry Clifford yet over that I give and bequeth to the said Henry Clifford if he marry Jane one of the dau^s of my son Strange c. m'ks in money to be delivered unto him when he cometh to the age of xx yeres for the love that I bere to him & also that hee shall be loving to my said son Strange daughter his wief if they be marryed together. Itm I give to Thomas Hesketh my receiver x^{li}. Also I give and bequeth to the purchase of the rent and toll of Warrington Brigg [bridge] ccc m'ks of ready money that is to say after the rate of the rate of the yerly farme & value thereof by xx yeres or above, to the entent that the passage shall be free for all people for evermore without any further toll or

farme there to be asked. And also I give to the making up of the aforesaid bridge at Warrington fyve hundreth m'ks. Sir Thomas Stanley, James Stanley, Sir Edward Stanley, sonnes of the Testator. Dat 28 Jul' 1504. Probat: 9 Nov. 1504."

The procumbent figures or marble effigies, now deposited in the Ormskirk Parish Church, are some of the "personages" alluded to in the foregoing will, having been removed from Burscough Priory at the time of the dissolution of monastic establishments in the reign of Henry VIII.

It has already been observed that Thomas, the first Earl of Derby, had a numerous family by Eleanor, of course, his first wife, namely, six sons and four daughters. The two eldest sons, Thomas and Richard, died in their infancy. The third son was George, Lord Strange, who married Jane, daughter and heiress of Sir John, Lord Strange, of Knockyn.

Lord Strange, who was detained as a hostage by Richard III. for the fidelity of his father, the first Earl of Derby, died before his father, on the 5th December, 1497, and was buried at St. James', Garlic Hithe, having, it is said, been poisoned at a banquet. Lord Strange left three sons,—1, Thomas, who succeeded his grandfather as second Earl of Derby; 2, John; 3, James, who became Sir James Stanley, knight, of Cross Hall, near Ormskirk, and the progenitor of the present House of Derby, as we shall have hereafter to notice.

The fifth son of Thomas, the first Earl of Derby, was Sir Edward Stanley, of Hornby Castle, created Lord Monteagle, in the sixth year of the reign of Henry VIII., and whose martial exploits in the battle of Flodden we have already noticed. The camp is said to have been his school, and his learning a pike and sword; and we are told that "Honour floated in his veins, and valour danced in his spirits." He appears to have enjoyed the special favour of Henry VIII., who always greeted him as "Ho! my soldier." Sir Edward died on the 6th of April, 1524, and was buried at Hornby, in the county of Lancaster. The will of the noble and gallant Lord Monteagle is as follows:—

"5 April 1523. I Edward Stanley Knt Lord Montegle of the order of the Garter bequeth my body to be buryed in the new chauncell to be made of my cost at the est ende of the Chapel of St. Margaret att Hornby. And furthermore will that on the next day after the dedication of the same chapell my body be exhumate & transferred with the consent of the Pryor of Hornby wher my body shall rest in the interim &c.

Itm I give to the Pryory of Hornby XL^s. Itm I make Thomas Darcy Knt Lord Darcy, Lord Meynell & Lord of Knayth, Sir John Hussye, Sir Alexander Radcliffe Knt Lawrence Starkey Esq^r & John Banke gent ex'ors. Thomas son & heir of the Testator. Edward bastard son of the Testator. Itm I will that Thomas Langton, squire, Baron of Walton and Elizabeth his wief & Edward L: ther son & heire my godson have &c. Itm I will that Geoffrey Redmayne, Esq^r of [have] the Tythe Barne att Wraton during the noneage of my son Thomas. [The Testator's lands in several Counties are mentioned here, &c.] Itm I will that James Anderton Esq^r shall enjoy his office of the Constableness of my castell of Hornby, having the fee accustomed v^{li}. probat: 25 Aug^t 1524."

The sixth son of Thomas, the first Earl of Derby, was James, Bishop of Ely, who died March 22nd, 1525. The following is a copy of the Right Reverend Prelate's will, from Dodsworth's MSS:—

"20 March 1514. I James Stanley, B'p of Ely bequeth my body to be buryed in a new Chapell in my Cathedral Church of Ely or els in my new chapell now in building att Manchester. Itm I will that Sir John Stanley, Knt, Thomas Stanley his brother, W^m Sergeant & Alex' Tyldesley be my ex'ors & that my s^d ex'ors shall see to the brethren & systers of the s^d John & Thomas. I will that Sir John Stanley Knt have all my purchased lands in Lanc: & Cheshire. [The Testator calls Lord Monteagle his brother.] probat: 23 May 1515."

THOMAS, SECOND EARL OF DERBY.

Thomas, the eldest son of Lord Strange, succeeded to the barony of Strange, as tenth baron, on the death of his father, in 1497, and succeeded his grandfather to the earldom of Derby as second Earl, and also to the lordship of Man, on the death of his grandfather in 1504. On coming into possession of the lordship of the Isle of Man, this Earl of Derby resigned the title of King, which had been hitherto borne by its sovereigns, preferring, as he states in a letter to his son, to be considered as a great lord rather than as a petty King. He married Anne, daughter of Edward, Lord Hastings and Hungerford, and sister to George, first Earl of Huntingdon. Earl Thomas attended Henry VIII. in his expedition to

France, in 1513; and in taking leave of Lathom and Knowsley, the poet makes him say:—

“Farewell, Lathom! That bright bower
Nine towers thou bearest on high,
And other nine thou bearest in the utter walls,
Within thee may be lodged Kings three.
Farewell, Knowsley! That little tower
Underneath the holts so hoar;
Ever when I think of that bright bower
Wyte me not though my heart be sore.”

Having been joined by the Emperor Maximilian, the contending armies met on the 4th of August, when Henry defeated the French at Guinsgate, in what was called the “Battle of the Spurs,” from the unusual energy the defeated party are said to have shewn in riding off the ground, and which resulted in the capturing of the two towns of Terouenne and Tournay. At the end of May, 1520, the Emperor Charles V. of Spain paid Henry VIII. a visit at Dover, when the Earl of Derby, by the King’s command, rode and bore the sword of state between the Emperor and the King, on their progress from Dover to Canterbury; and the following year he was one of the peers on the trial of Edward de Stafford, lord-high-constable and K.G., and last Duke of Buckingham of the Stafford family, who had been instigated and encouraged by an astrologer to aspire to the succession to the throne; and who, after a trial by a jury, consisting of a duke, a marquis, seven earls, and twelve barons—the Duke of Norfolk, whose son, the Earl of Surrey, had married Buckingham’s daughter, presiding as lord steward—he was found guilty and condemned to be beheaded, his execution taking place on the 13th of May, 1521. The Earl of Derby died ten days after the execution of Stafford, namely, on the 23rd May, 1521, and was buried in the Monastery of Sion, in the county of Middlesex, the place of interment being according to his lordship’s desire if he died out of the county of Lancaster. His will, as contained in Dodsworth’s MSS., vol. 22, p. 173, is as follows:—

“I Thomas Stanley Erle of Derby & Lord Stanley bequeth my body to be buried in the Pryory of Burscogh in Co. Lanc. Itm whereas my Lord my grandfader did give to Elizabeth my syster cc m’ks to her marriage. I will that my ex’ors pay the s^d cc m’ks unto her. And where my syster Jane now wief of Robert Sheffield, Esq^r hath an annuity of xxⁱ out of the Lordship of Bispham in Co. Lanc. during my pleasure &c. Itm I will that my ex’ors pay the debts of my dearest fader Sir George Stanley Knt late Lord Strange & the debts of my moder Dame Jane Lady Strange his wief. Itm

whereas ther have bene divers communications between me & one Thomas Midelton late deceased concernyng a fynall end to be made between us for such manors & lands which the s^d Thomas claymed in Bethom & certayne lands in the Counties of Lanc: and Westmorland. I will that when the heir of the s^d Thomas make such suretie of such manors & lands as hee & I had communication of &c. I will that my ex'ors make a deed of other lands to the value of LV^{li} per an: to the s^d heire &c. And whereas I the s^d Erle have made an estate of the Castell & demaynes of Hornby to myne uncle Sir Edward Stanley Knt Lord Montegle in hope of his favor towards me wich estate was made upon certayne conditions & entents, now the s^d conditions being broken I will that my s^d uncle have no profit by the s^d deed &c. Henry Stanley Esq^r son of the Testator. James Stanley brother of the Testator hath L^{li} per an: out of the Testator's manor of Bydiston Co. Cest: Margaret Stanley syster of the Testator hath the manor of Wyrmyngton, Co. Bedford for her life. Itm I make Sir Hugh Hesketh B^p of Man, Sir Henry Halsall Knt, Steward of my house, Sir Henry Sherman, clerk, Deane of my chapel, Thomas Hesketh Esq^r Richard Hesketh &c my ex'ors. probat: 27 Junii 1524."

This Earl of Derby had issue, 1, John, who died young; 2, Edward, his successor; 3, Henry, who died of what was called the sweating sickness; 4, Margaret, who married Robert Ratcliffe, the first Earl of Sussex. The Dowager Countess of Derby re-married to John Ratcliffe, Lord Fitzwalter.

EDWARD, THIRD EARL OF DERBY.

Edward, when he succeeded his father as the third Earl of Derby, was a minor, being only fifteen years of age; and his father, anxious to secure to him the full enjoyment of his vast estates, put him and the estates under the guardianship and care of ten executors, over whom he also appointed five others, as supervisors, to see that the others discharged the duties of their trust with fidelity and for the interest of his son. Of these supervisors the chief was the clever and haughty Cardinal Wolsey, who, faithless to his trust, thought more of his own interests and aggrandisement, to which he made the trust subservient, for he appears to have secured to himself several important manors in the county of Lincoln, which the late Earl had held from the crown, by lease for life, and which,

expiring on the death of the late Earl, the wily Cardinal took the opportunity of procuring to himself grants of the same. Edward appears to have been placed, at an early age, under the care of Cardinal Wolsey,* for, nearly a year before his father's death, on the 7th June, 1520, he attended the Cardinal, and was present in the retinue of Henry VIII. in his interview with Francis in the marches between Guisnes and Ardres, at a site named after its magnificent and costly puerilities, "The Field of the Cloth of Gold," which was the scene of one of the last displays of chivalrous pomp upon an important scale.

Notwithstanding the advantage taken by Cardinal Wolsey, the young Earl retained an immense fortune, which enabled him to engage in many expensive expeditions in concert with his magnificent and extravagant sovereign, Henry VIII. In 1529, having attained his majority, he was one of the principal companions appointed to accompany Wolsey in an embassy to Francis, King of France, at Amiens, relative to the release of Pope Clement VII., then a prisoner to the Duke of Bourbon; and three years after the Earl of Derby was one of the peers who subscribed the memorable letter to the same Pontiff, requiring the confirmation of the sentence of the divorce of Queen Catherine, which Henry VIII. pressed for, and upon the refusal of which the King threatened the Papal supremacy in England. The Earl of Derby was also in attendance upon King Henry at his interview with the French King, at Bologne; and in the same year, he brought Queen Anne Boleyn, the mother of Queen Elizabeth,† previous to her coronation, in his own barge from Greenwich. In 1536, on the appearance of the insurrection in Cumberland, Westmoreland, and the North of Lancashire, known as "The Pilgrimage of Grace,"‡ the King directed his letters to the Earl of Derby,

* Cardinal Wolsey built Christ Church at Oxford, and another college at Ipswich, the place of his birth. He also built the Palace of Hampton Court, which he presented to the King. He was a man of humble birth, but very clever. His riches had been acquired by cunning and royal favour. The Cardinal was arrested by the Earl of Northumberland for high treason, and whilst on his way to the scaffold in London, he was seized with dysentery, and as he entered the gate of the monastery, at Leicester, he said, "Father Abbot, I am come to lay my bones among you." He died at the Abbey, and his last words were full of solemn warning, "Had I but served God as diligently as I have served the King, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs. But this is my just reward!"

† Anne Boleyn was the second wife of Henry VIII., and was beheaded on the 19th May, 1536. She met her doom calmly, and on the scaffold prayed for her heartless husband, and begged the King to be kind to her daughter, the Princess Elizabeth.

‡ This insurrection was one of others consequent upon the destruction of the monasteries. It was headed by Robert Aske, a gentleman of family, residing upon his patrimonial estate in Aughton in the East Riding of the county of York. The insurrectionary spirit spread far and wide, from the Tweed in the north, to the Humber and Ribble on the east and west. The insurgents rendezvoused in Yorkshire, and, to excite the enthusiasm of their followers, and, to induce the people to join their ranks, a body of priests marched at their head with the banner of the cross, on which was depicted the figure of the Saviour,

with instructions to raise what forces he was able; and it was owing to his diligence and exertions, with the forces of Lancashire and Cheshire, that that formidable rebellion was suppressed and peace restored, the Earl taking possession of the Abbey of Whalley, and other houses of treasonable resort. In 1538, the scriptures of the Old and New Testament were, for the first time, printed entire in English, under the sanction and authority of the government. It is worthy of remark that in 1548, the Earl of Derby was appointed by Edward VI.,* who had succeeded to the throne of England, one of the commissioners of the Reformation: and the King also bestowed upon him the order of the Garter. In 1552, the Earl exchanged the Derby-house, St. Bennett's-hill, since the College of Arms, for lands near Knowsley, which institution, at his death, performed his funeral obsequies, a fashion then at its height, upon, perhaps, the largest and most imposing scale on record. On the day of her coronation, Queen Mary constituted him lord high steward of England, on which occasion he proceeded from Lathom to his house in Westminster, with a train or retinue of fourscore gentlemen in velvet, and 218 yeomen in livery. Queen Elizabeth, notwithstanding that his sons, Sir Thomas and Sir Edward Stanley, favoured the attempt to deliver Mary, Queen of Scots, from Tutbury Castle, appointed the Earl of Derby lord-lieutenant of the county of Lancaster, in which high official capacity he communicated the treasonable designs of the Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland. The noble Earl was one of the twenty statesmen whom Queen Elizabeth chose for her privy counsellors, which office he had also held in the reign of Mary; and Queen Elizabeth also appointed him lord chamberlain of Chester.

with the chalice and the host. Each of the soldiers wore on his sleeve, as the emblem of his holy cause, a representation of the five wounds of Christ, with the name "Jesus" marked in the centre. An oath or covenant was enjoined upon the pilgrims, by which they declared, "that they entered upon this pilgrimage for the love of God, the preservation of the King's person and issue, the purifying the nobility, and driving away all base-born and ill counsellors; and, for no particular profit of their own, nor to do displeasure to any, nor to kill any for envy; but to take before them the cross of Christ, his faith, the restitution of the churches, and the suppression of hereticks and their opinions." Willfred Holme states that the following lines, from the antiquated quiddities of Merlin, were often recited by the "Pilgrims of Grace:"—

"Foorth shall come a worme, an *aske* with one eye,
He shall be the chiefe of the mainye;
He shall gather of chivalrie a full faire flock
Half capon and halfe cocke
The chicken shall the capon slay
And after that shall be no May."

A full account of this insurrection is contained in Baines's *History of Lancashire*, vol. i.

* The mother of Edward VI. was Jane Seymour; and the mother of the Princess Mary, who succeeded the youthful King, was Catherine of Arragon, Henry VIII.'s first wife.

The Earl of Derby lived in a style of extraordinary splendour, and the great hospitality and magnificence of his living afforded fruitful topics for the admiration of some of the contemporary writers ; and his house was styled "The Northern Court." The princely style of his housekeeping is said not to have been surpassed by any of the old nobility, the extent and splendour of his household being little inferior to the Court itself, and in some respects closely resembling the royal usage, the constitution of the household being much the same, and the domestic officers taking the same titles and styles. Like the Queen, the Earl of Derby had his Comptroller and Steward of the Household, his Grooms of the Bedchamber, and Clerks of the Kitchen ; and the eldest sons of independent gentlemen of the first rank in the county deemed it an honourable distinction to wait upon his lordship at table, and in public to wear the badge of his livery. The Council embraced some of the nobility, and the Bishop and a large body of the superior clergy of the diocese, and some of the principal gentry of Lancashire and Cheshire. It appears that the three principal officers of the household establishment of the Elizabethan Earls of Derby—Earls Edward and Henry—were filled by persons of knightly rank, connected with the family either by descent or marriage. These officers had the privilege of applying to their own use, and probably in their own domestic establishments, a certain number of his lordship's servants, wearing his livery, and whose wages and clothes were supplied at his lordship's expense. Amongst the titles of the officers of the household were, the Marshall of the Hall, the Yeoman of the Stable, the Herald or Officer at Arms, the Trumpeter, the Clerk of the Works, Auditor, and Private Secretary. The Earl also appears to have kept a company of minstrels in his household ; and he also had the reputation of maintaining a conjuror in his house, for Richard Boyle, the first Earl of Cork, in a memorandum of letters written by him, observes, "Mumford resorteth to Stanley's house in Lancashire, within six miles of Leerpooles. There he is to be had. There he lately cast out divels." Amongst the domestics was the strange character commonly mis-called "the fool," whose duty it was to excite the family and their guests to indulge in what has been described as "the luxury of folly."

From two manuscripts, containing an account of the household expenses of Edward and Henry, Earls of Derby, for the years 1561 and 1586,* &c., it appears that the principal

* See *Stanley Papers*, part 2, published by the Chetham Society.

articles of consumption, as contained in the bills of fare, were plain and substantial, and such as have become synonymous with English hospitality. The Earl's own domain supplied most of these necessities of life. The flocks and herds were the produce of his own lands, and his parks furnished his family with venison, and his warrens and fishponds supplied the game and fish for the table. The malt was made in his own kilns, the hops, probably grown on his own lands, whilst the ale, in no stinted measure, and of excellent quality, was brewed on his own premises by experienced hands; and wine appears to have been an important item in the household expenditure; but there is no mention of the delicacies of confectionaries, sweetmeats, or fruits, though it is presumed that these might be included under the general and somewhat comprehensive word, "Acates," and abundantly supplied at christenings and the great festivals of the Church. The ordinary weekly consumption of the household was about one ox, a dozen calves, a score of sheep, fifteen hogsheads of beer or ale, and plenty of bread, fish, and poultry. The moss lands around Lathom furnished turves, and the lordly forests around Knowsley logs of wood for fires, the fossil coals abounding in the neighbourhood, now raised for local use and exportation, being apparently unknown; and the capacious vaults of stone, called ovens, capable of roasting more than an ox at one time, and seldom out of use, were kept heated by the primitive fuel. The bread used in the household was distributed with the broken meat to large numbers of indigent poor, who appear to have flocked to the princely mansion at Lathom to receive what was called the reversion; for the manchet or wheat bread, as well as the household bread, which consisted of half wheat and half barley, formed a striking contrast, both in appearance and taste, to their own coarse and miserable daily bread, which, as Harrison, in his *Description of Britain*, observes, consisted of bread made of beans, peas, or oats, or of all mixed together, and some acorns amongst the rest of it. Those were the days when England was a corn-exporting country, and when a single bad harvest involved our forefathers in all the horrors of a famine.

In those times of "flesh-days" and "fish-days," Edward Earl of Derby was in the habit of seeing, at breakfast, on flesh-days at least, and in the early part of his life, "for my Lord and my Lady," "furst a loof of brede, in trenchers ij manchetts, j quart of bere, a quart of wyne, half a chyne of

mutton, or ells a chyne of beif boiled." In those days ten o'clock in the morning was the dinner hour, therefore the servants had to be engaged in preparing the breakfast long before the sun had risen, or the birds had begun to carol their morning lays in the bush.

Many strange sights and ludicrous scenes must then have been witnessed at the old princely halls of Lathom and Knowsley, for dogs, in great numbers, appear to have been loud in their demands for the first share of the "crumbs" which fell from, or before they reached the good Earl's table, so much so, that amongst the "Orders touchinge the Gou'ment of my L. his house" is the following order,—“That no Doggs of any sorte goe abroade in the house especiallie at meale tymes, in respect they shall not diminish the almes of the poore or trouble gentlemen at meale tymes wth fightinge.” None but authorised persons were allowed to remain in the kitchen where the Earl's meat was dressed, which led to the appointment of “the yeoman cooks for the month,” whose office it was to satisfy themselves by the most conclusive of all tests that nothing injurious had been applied to the meat, and also to attend alternately each hour at “the haistry,” or fire-place. The attendance of female servants was not considered necessary, and only two are mentioned as being employed in the Earl's establishment.

The character bestowed upon Edward Earl of Derby is such as to endear his name to all posterity, and, with the poet, many have had occasion to say,

“Here with my paynes my bounden heart I give
Ever to love a Stanley whiles I live.”

In enumerating his virtues and means, his biographer observes “that his greatness supported his goodness—his goodness ameliorating his greatness! He was kind to his tenants, liberal to his servants, generous to his friends, and hospitable to strangers! His house was orderly and regular, a college for discipline rather than a palace for entertainment: his and his lady's servants being so many young gentlemen and ladies trained up to govern themselves by his example. His provisions were solid rather than dainty, which cost less and contented more: his table was constant, where all were welcome, but none invited. He had two hundred and twenty servants in a check roll for forty-two years: twice every day, three-score and ten old and decrepid persons were fed at his expense; and on every Good Friday, for thirty-five years, two thousand seven hundred received meat, drink, and money. Every gentleman

in his service had a horse and man to attend him ; to all which is added this high and just praise, that he was not munificent at other men's cost : for once a *month* he looked into his income, and once a *week* into his disbursements, that none should wrong him, nor any be wronged by him. The Earl of Derby, he would say, 'shall keep his own house and prove that frugality, justice, and good management consist with greatness, as length with breadth.' Therefore it was observed of him, that after his death not a tradesman could demand a groat that he owed, or a neighbour restitution of a penny that he had wronged him of. The grand word with this nobleman was, 'On my honour,' which was esteemed sufficient for any engagement : it was his privilege, that he need not swear for a testimony, and his renown that he would not for his honour." Here we must not omit to mention "his cunning in setting bones, disjointed or broken, his surgery, and desire to help the poor."

The Earl was married three times. His first wife was Dorothy, daughter of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, by whom he had issue, three sons and five daughters : 1, Henry, his successor. 2, Sir Thomas Stanley,* who married Margaret, one of the daughters and co-heirs of Sir George Vernon, of Nether Haddon, in the county of Derby, by whom he had a son named Edward ; on which occasion his father (Edward, the third Earl of Derby), made the following settlement by deed, bearing date the 4th year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, in which it is declared, "That the several manors and lands lying in the counties of Warwick, Devon, and Oxford, also, Dunham-Massey, Bowden, Rungey, Hale, Eaton, and Darfield, in the county of Chester, now the estate of him, the said Earl of Derby, shall appertain and belong to Sir Thomas Stanley, his said second son for life ; remainder in sale-male to Henry the first son of him the said Earl ; remainder to the heirs male of the said Sir Thomas Stanley ; remainder to the heirs male of the said Sir Edward Stanley, son of the said Sir Thomas and Dame Margaret his lady." 3, Sir Edward

* Sir Thomas Stanley was the grandfather of the Lady Venetia Stanley, the wife of Sir Kenelm Digby, who, after the death of his lady, "retired into Gresham College, at London. He wore there a long mourning cloak ; a high cornered hat ; his beard unshorn ; looked like an hermit ; as signs of sorrow for his beloved wife, to whose memory he erected a sumptuous monument, now quite destroyed by the great conflagration. He was a person of extraordinary strength. One at Sherbourne, relating to the Earl of Bristol, protested that as he, being a middling man, being set in a chair, Sir Kenelm took him up, chair and all, with one arm. He was of an undaunted courage, yet not apt in the least to give offence. His conversation was both ingenuous and innocent."—After his death, which was caused by a violent paroxysm of that cruel disease, the stone, which carried him off on his birthday, the 11th June, 1665, "he was buried in Christ Church, within Newgate, where, several years before his death, he had erected a superb monument in memory of his wife." See *Lodge's Memoirs*, vol. 7.

Stanley, of Eynsham, Oxford, who died unmarried in 1590. This Sir Edward Stanley was a soldier in the service of Queen Elizabeth under the command of the plotting Earl of Leicester, in Holland, where, we are told, at the siege of Zutphen, in 1586, Sir Edward "acquired great reputation by a most uncommon act of valour and undaunted courage. In the attack on a fort of the said town, a Spaniard brandishing his lance at him, he caught hold of it, and held so fast, that he was drawn up by it into the fort, at which the garrison were so intimidated (supposing all the enemy were following him) that they fled and left the fort to him." For this act of valour Sir Edward was knighted by the Earl of Leicester, who also gave him forty pounds in hand and a yearly pension of one hundred marks. It is said, however, that the gallant knight so far forgot his duty to his sovereign as to take up arms against her in favour of Spain, whither he was obliged to flee and die in exile and disgrace. 4, Dorothy, who died unmarried and was buried at Ormskirk, on the 22nd of January, 1557. 5, Anne, who was first married to Charles Lord Stourton, and afterwards became the wife of Sir John Arundel, of Leaherne, in the county of Cornwall. 6, Elizabeth, who became the wife of Henry Parker, Lord Morley. 7, Mary, who was married to Edward Lord Stafford. 8, Jane, who became the wife of Edward Sutton, Lord Dudley.

For his second wife, the Earl of Derby married Margaret, the daughter of Ellis Barlow, Esq., of Barlow, Lancashire, and by her had issue, 1, George, who died young; 2, Margaret, who became first the wife of John Jermyn, Esq., of Rashbrook, in the county of Suffolk, and afterwards the wife of Sir N. Poynteny; 3, Catherine, who was married to Thomas Knevet, Esq.—In the *British Bibliographer*, vol. iv., there is "An Epilogue of the Dethe of the Righte Honorable Margrete Countess of Darbye, which departed the 19th of Jan^r and was buryed the 23^d of Phebruary, In anno Dni 1558, on whosse soll have m'cye. Amen quoth Rycharde Sheale :"—

"Oh! Lathom, Lathom, thowe maste lamente,
For thowe hast loste a flowar
For Margrete the Countesse of Darbie
In the Yerth hath bylte her bowar.
Dethe the Messengar of Gode
On her hath wroughte his wyll
Whom all Creatures must nedys obey
Whethar they be good or ylle.

When thys good Ladye did perseve
Fro hence she schulde departe
'Farewell my good Lordé and husbände,' sayde she
Farewell with all my harte,
The noble yerle of Darbe,

God keepe the both nyght and daye
 On syght of the wolde I myght see,
 Or I went hence awaye,
 Fache me the last tokene,' quoth she
 'That he unto me sente,
 To kys hyte now or I depart
 Hite ys my wholl intente.'

Nowe ys this noble Lady dede
 Whom all the world did love,
 She never hurt man, woman, nor childe
 I dare well saye and prove.

Which joye that we may all unto,
 God graunt us of his grace,
 When that we shall wend hence away,
 In Heaven to have a place.

Amen quoth the Rycharde Sheale."

The Earl of Derby married for his third wife Mary, the daughter of Sir George Cotton, of Combermere, in the county of Chester, but by this Countess he had no issue.

The Earl died on the 24th October, 1572, at Lathom House, where his body lay in state for about six weeks. We are informed that after the decease of the noble Earl his body was wrapped in searcloth. The chapel and the house, with the two courts, were hung with black cloth, on which were suspended the hatchments or armorial escutcheons of his family; and on the Saturday before the funeral, the body was conveyed into the chapel, where it was covered with a pall of black velvet, and thereon were placed his coat of arms, helmet and crest, sword and target, and about the body were placed the standard, great banner, and six bannerets. At the parish church of Ormskirk, between the choir and the body of the church,* a spot probably about two yards west of the present pulpit, was erected a stately "hearse" of five principals, thirty feet in height, twelve feet in length, and nine feet in breadth, enclosed by a double railing, the top parts and the rails being covered with black cloth, the valance and principals with velvet, and to the valance was attached a fringe of silk; the "majesty," which was of taffety, lined with buckram, had placed upon it, most curiously wrought in gold and silver, the achievements of his arms, with helmet, crest, supporters, and motto, and four escutcheons in metal, the top being also ornamented with escutcheons and jewels; four burial escutcheons were placed at the corners; and on the valance were small escutcheons, within the garter. The church, too, was hung throughout with black cloth, on which were also placed hatchments impaled with the arms of his three Countesses.

* Ormskirk Church at this time appears to have had a fine chancel, one part (probably that portion of the Church in which the pulpit is now standing) being called "The King's Chancel," and the other part, from the pulpit eastward, "The High Chancel," on account of having a more elevated position.

The funeral took place on Thursday, the 4th of December, and the procession is said to have extended from the hall at Lathom House to the church, a distance of nearly three miles. On arriving at the church, the body was taken out of the "chariot," and borne into the hearse, erected in the church, by eight gentlemen in gowns, with hoods on their heads, and placed on a table three feet high, covered with black cloth, and upon the coffin were placed a pall of black velvet, his coat of arms, sword and target, and helmet and crest. The principal mourner, his son Henry, his successor, then entered the hearse, at the head of the deceased Earl; then entered the other eight mourners, who took their positions on each side of the corpse, four on one side, and four on the other; and at the foot of the coffin stood two esquires, holding the standard and great banner, and on each side of the hearse, the other esquires, with the bannerets; behind the principal mourner stood three kings of arms, and four gentlemen ushers; and between the standard and the great banner stood the Lancaster herald of arms, wearing the deceased's coat of arms. The funeral service appears to have been chanted, there being present "forty singing men" in their surplices. The sermon on the occasion was preached by the Dean of Chester. After the customary offerings were made at the altar, the body was borne from the hearse and deposited in a tomb in the high chancel, being the first of the Earls of Derby buried at Ormskirk.

By his will, bearing date 24th August, 1572, Earl Edward bequeathed his body to be buried in the parish church of Ormskirk, in the county of Lancaster; and ordered that a chapel should be there erected, and a tomb prepared for that purpose, which has since been the burial place of his family and of his successors.

Queen Elizabeth, we are told, used jestingly to say that "the Earl of Derby and my Lord of Bedford made all beggars by their liberality." The Earl's munificence to the poor was proverbial,—for "age and want sat smiling at his gate;" and Camden observes that "with Edward Earl of Derby's death, the glory of hospitality seemed to fall asleep."

His widow, Mary, Countess of Derby, afterwards became the wife of Henry Grey, Earl of Kent.

HENRY, FOURTH EARL OF DERBY,

Was born in the year 1531, and had therefore attained to the mature age of forty-one years at the time of the death of his

father, "Edward the Bountiful," the third Earl of Derby. Henry, now the fourth Earl of Derby of the Stanley family, had been, for many years previously to his succession to the earldom of Derby and to the lordship of the Isle of Man, a prominent personage at the Court, and appears to have been universally respected for his high literary attainments and exalted character. In his youthful days, when known as Lord Strange, he enjoyed the special favour of Edward VI., and even then he was no stranger at the Court. In 1554 he married Margaret, only child of Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, by Eleanor, daughter of and co-heir to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, by Mary, Queen Dowager of France, eldest daughter of Henry VII. The marriage took place in Whitehall Chapel, in the presence of Queen Mary and Philip of Spain. On the 23rd of April, 1575, Queen Elizabeth dignified the Earl of Derby with the honour of the Garter; and so highly did he enjoy the favour of royalty, that her Majesty, we are told, preferred him in all momentous and critical affairs of state, as one whom she could rely upon as a trusty friend and faithful servant.

After the apprehension and execution of Antony Babington, one of the principal actors in a conspiracy for the deliverance of Mary Queen of Scots from captivity, the assassination of Queen Elizabeth, a foreign invasion, and the subsequent elevation of Mary to the throne of England, it was resolved to bring Mary Queen of Scots to justice as an accomplice, and for that purpose she was removed from Chartley Castle, Staffordshire, and imprisoned within the fatal walls of Fotheringay Castle, Northamptonshire, where her trial was conducted by a special commission, the Earl of Derby being one of the peers on that memorable trial. Mary, as is well known, was declared guilty of being accessory to Babington's conspiracy against the Queen of England, and was beheaded in the great hall of the castle of Fotheringay, on the 8th of February, 1587.*

* Mary, though privy to the Babington conspiracy as a plan for her own deliverance, and so far giving it her sanction, solemnly denied all complicity in the plot to assassinate Elizabeth, and was probably guiltless of the capital charge, but, with one exception, the commissioners pronounced her guilty. The dignity with which Mary met her fate has softened the judgment which posterity would otherwise have pronounced upon her, on the ground of former transgressions; and historians seem to be inclined to allow that however guilty in her own kingdom, she was in England the victim of a harsh and unjust policy; but her death was as clearly the crime of the nation as it was the act of Elizabeth and of her government; for when the sentence of death was passed, it was hailed with joyful demonstrations in the public streets of London; both houses of Parliament petitioned that it might be immediately carried into effect; and, upon the execution taking place, the intelligence of it was welcomed by a blaze of bonfires and other demonstrations of popular acquiescence.

Queen Elizabeth having revived the work of the Reformation, Philip of Spain, urged on by the Pope, determined upon revenging the death of Mary, and subverting the English power. The Pope crowned Philip King of England; and Elizabeth and her Court were excommunicated. Philip was now concocting his schemes for the invasion of England, but to conceal his intentions, he entered into negotiations of peace with Queen Elizabeth; and the Earl of Derby was one of the Queen's plenipotentiaries at the conference with the Prince of Parma and Philip's other ambassadors assembled at Flanders. The preparations of Philip were cause for well-grounded suspicions of his hostile intentions towards England, which induced Elizabeth to recall the Earl of Derby and her Majesty's other commissioners. Ferdinando, Lord Strange, who had been mayor of Liverpool during his father's absence, had raised a great number of horsemen in Lancashire and Cheshire; and on the return of the Earl of Derby from Flanders, he was commissioned by the Queen to prepare the counties of Lancashire and Cheshire, of which he was lord-lieutenant, to resist the invasion, it being thought probable that as Lancashire had been the seat of a previous landing of the enemy, the present expedition might tend to make this county the place of debarcation, hence these instructions, at his "uttermoste peril," were given to the Earl of Derby.

Early in the year 1588, Philip had completed his preparations for the invasion of England, and there was collected at Lisbon the Invincible Armada, the most formidable fleet that had ever been launched upon the sea. It consisted of 65 large ships of war, 25 of smaller size, 19 tenders, 13 small frigates, 4 galleasses, and 4 galleys, in all 130 vessels, carrying 2,431 pieces of artillery, and 4,575 quintals of powder. There were on board about 30,000 men, soldiers, and marines, of whom 2,000 are represented as volunteers of noble rank; while another army of 34,000 assembled in the Netherlands, under the command of the Prince of Parma, general to the King of Spain, was to be thrown across the channel, upon the appearance of the Armada in the narrow seas. To resist this impending attack the resources of the nation were called out by the government; and, according to the Harleian MSS., there was raised a fleet of 134 "tall towering ships," but none of the vessels equalled in size those of the enemy, but were under more skilful nautical commanders. An army was posted at Tilbury, on the Thames, which, with the other forces, raised the military force in the field to 63,511 men,

and 36 pieces of ordnance. Elizabeth, we are told, visited the troops at Tilbury, rode on horseback through the lines, and encouraged them by the following animated address, which we cannot resist the temptation of here reproducing, as it sets before us the spirit and dauntless character of Elizabeth in those trying times :—" Let tyrants fear. I have always so behaved myself, that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and goodwill of my subjects, and therefore I am come amongst you, as you see at this time, not for my own recreation and disport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all, to lay down for my God, and for my kingdoms, and for my people, my honour and my blood, even in the dust. I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too ; and think foul scorn that Parma, or Spain, or any Prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realm, to which, rather than any dishonour shall grow by me, I myself will take up arms ; I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field." Owing to the death of two of the principal commanders, the sailing of the Armada, which was to have taken place early in May, was delayed until the 27th of July. The fate of "The Great, Noble, and Invincible Armada" is too well known to require recapitulating here, suffice it to say that the Armada was completely put to the rout by the English fleet and the angry elements, in which the hand of Providence was signally acknowledged, not only in England, but in Holland also ; for the Dutch, who must have succumbed to the tyrannous and hated yoke of Spain had the expedition of the Armada been successful, celebrated the victory of the English by the distribution of a medal bearing the inscription, *Flavit Jehovah et dissipati sunt*, "Jehovah blew, and they were scattered."

In 1588, the Earl of Derby was constituted lord high steward on the trial of Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, for treason. Arundel was condemned to pay a fine of £10,000, and to imprisonment during the Queen's pleasure ; and, after an imprisonment of six years in the Tower, he died.

In the same year, the Queen appointed the Earl, for five years, lord chamberlain of Chester ; and soon after this the noble Earl made his first visit to the Isle of Man, where, we are told, his "presence was imperiously demanded to restrain the impositions and severities of his officers, and to revive the

drooping spirits of his subjects," who appear to have suffered severely from the tyranny of the Earl's servants, for they, no doubt, had taken advantage of the people, owing to the long neglect of the Earl and his predecessor, who seem to have almost forgotten that the Isle of Man had any claim upon them, but which may be accounted for in some measure to the prominent part they were called upon to take in the public affairs of the State in England.

In the year 1592, the Earl of Derby returned to England from the Isle of Man, and retired to his princely seat at Lathom, where he died on the 25th of September, 1593; and his will, bearing date the 21st of the same month, ordered his body to be buried in his chapel at Ormskirk.

By his Countess he had four sons and one daughter: William and Francis, who died young; and Ferdinando and William, who became successively Earls of Derby; and a daughter, who died young; and besides these he left three other children by one Jane Halsall, of Knowsley, namely, Thomas, who was styled Thomas Stanley, of Eccleshall, Esq., and two daughters, Dorothy and Ursula, for whom he appears to have made a liberal provision. The elder daughter, Dorothy, married Sir Cuthbert Halsall, of Halsall, then known at the *Northern Court* of the Stanleys as "Yong Mr. Halsall;" and Ursula, the second daughter, married Sir John Salusbury, M.P. for the county of Denbigh in 1600, and died in 1613, leaving a son, Sir Henry Salusbury, knight, who was created a baronet in 1619, and was the direct ancestor of general Lord Viscount Combermere.

In accordance with his will, Henry, the fourth Earl of Derby, was buried in the Derby Chapel, at Ormskirk Church, and on the occasion of his funeral, Dr. Chaderton, the fifth Bishop of Chester, who was much esteemed by the noble family of Derby, and had been a frequent guest at the princely mansion of Lathom House, preached a sermon, in which, after a warm eulogium on the deceased peer, he turned to his son and successor, Ferdinando, and exclaimed:—"You, noble Earl, that not only inherit, but exceed your father's virtues, learn to keep the love of your country, as your father did. You have in your arms three legs, signifying three counties, Cheshire, Derbyshire, and Lancashire; stand fast on these legs, and you need fear none of their arms."

Dr. Chaderton, "*My L. Bushoppe of Chester*," was an intimate friend of Henry Earl of Derby; and is described as having been a very learned and witty man, and many of his

sermons are yet extant, which abound with references to passing events. He married Katherine, niece of Dr. Cliffe, warden of Manchester, by whom he had issue one child, Joan, who became the first wife of Sir Richard Brooke, Bart., of Norton Priory, Cheshire, son and heir of Thomas Brooke, Esq., sheriff of Cheshire, by his wife Ann, daughter of Lord Audley. Sir John Harrington, writing about 1606 (*Nugæ Antiq.*, vol. 2, p. 115) intimates that the marriage of Bishop Chaderton's daughter was not attended with much happiness, and that Sir Richard Brooke and his wife were "living asunder," having one daughter; and it has even been conjectured that the Bishop alludes to this when, in one of his later sermons, he says:—"The choice of a wife is full of hazard, not unlike a man groping for a fish in a barrel full of serpents; if he escape harm from the snakes, and light upon the fish, he may be thought lucky; yet let him not boast, for perhaps it may be but an eel." From the careful investigation of unpublished records,* it has been found that a marriage had taken place between the parties in their infancy, according to the evil custom of the age, and that it became necessary at a subsequent period to establish its validity; and that on the 20th February, 1586, Robert Leche, LL.D., official of the Bishop of Chester, appointed one Oliver Carter, of Manchester, clerk, to receive the depositions of witnesses as to the original marriage, and to ascertain the mutual consent of the bride and bridegroom, now arrived at what were considered "years of discretion." Bishop Chaderton deposed that a marriage was solemnized between his daughter Joan and Richard Brooke, in his house at Chester, commonly called the Palace, by John Nutter, B.D., Parson of Sefton, on the 15th October, 1582, by Licence from the Ordinary, according to the Book of Common Prayer, and by the express consent both of the deponent and also of the father of the said Richard. Four years having elapsed since the marriage, and his friends having declared that the said Richard was XI and now about XV years of age, and the said Joan having been born 20th of February, 1574, "early in the morning of the said day," was at the solemnization of the said marriage IX and was now about XIII years old, and both of them having ever since lived with the deponent and having had good liking either of other for anything that appeared to the contrary, he willingly consented to the marriage being ratified. Katherine Chaderton, the Bishop's wife, confirmed this deposition, which was

* The *Stanley Papers*, part 2, published by the Chetham Society.

also supported by Thomas Brooke, of Norton, Esq., the father, who stated that his son was born in March, 1571, being now of the age of XV, and he believed that Joan, "by view of her bodie," was then XII at the least, and that ever since their marriage they had continued together and had liking of each other. Then follows "the confession" of the young man, who, "in the name of God," acknowledged before Oliver Carter, lawfully authorized, John Morgell, a Notary Public, and other witnesses, "that matrimonie was de facto had and solemnized" between him and Joan Brooke, alias Chaderton, then present, and he having accomplished the age of XIV years, did "with a willing mind and free will ratify the same marriage by his consent and assent," and therefore "instantly desired" Mr. Carter to pronounce for its validity, that they might be henceforth reputed lawful man and wife; and then follows the following note from Joan:—"Mr. Brooke, I doe accept of your confession and consent and take you for my lawful husband, and prairie as you have praired.—Signed, Johan Brooke." The only issue of this remarkable marriage was the accomplished, pious, and learned Elizabeth Brooke, who, in April, 1616, became the wife of Torrell Joceline, Esq., of Oakington, Cambridgeshire. The statement of Sir John Harrington is looked upon as nothing more than a scurrilous fabrication, for at the time he wrote (1606), Joan, Lady Brooke, had been dead five years, and therefore, as man and wife, were certainly "living asunder" by the hand of death, she having died about 1601, in the infancy of her gifted daughter, from whose pious counsel to her husband, it would seem, that her father and mother had lived on good terms, for Mrs. Joceline, we are told, had deeply impressed upon her mind, when she was not above six years of age, by the last words of her own mother, charging her, upon her blessing her, to shew all obedience and reverence to her father, Sir Richard Brooke, and to her reverend grandfather, Bishop Chaderton.*

Margaret, the Countess of Derby, survived her noble husband, Henry Earl of Derby, about three years. She died in Cleveland Row, London, 29th November, 1596, in the 56th year of her age. According to a letter, written by her

* Mrs. Joceline died on the 21st October, 1622, at the age of 27. Her biographer informs us that she had a presentiment that she should die in travail, which was unhappily realised. She wrote a treatise, entitled "*The Mother's Legacie to her vnborne Childe.*" In Cambridgeshire shee was made a mother of a daughter whom shortly after, being baptized and brought vnto her, shee blessed and gave God thanks that her selfe had lived to see it a Christian; and then instantly called for her winding sheet to be brought forth and laid upon her."—See *Mother's Legacie*, with Dr. Goad's *Sketch of Mrs. Joceline's Life*, reprinted in 1852.

to Sir Francis Walsingham, minister to Queen Elizabeth, it would appear that she had lost the Queen's favour through consulting wizards touching her bodily infirmities, which she had "longe tyme been accustomed to sufferr." This lady patronized two of the most remarkable authors of her day, namely, Thomas Lupton and Robert Greene, who, no doubt, received considerable benefits from their patroness. Lupton speaks of the Countess as the "vertuous and affable Lady Margaret Countess of Derby."

In the days of Edward, third Earl of Derby, and his son Henry, the fourth Earl of Derby, there occasionally assembled at the Northern Court of the Stanleys, Lathom House, knights and gentlemen who had green traditions of the Battle of Bosworth, and who could proudly rehearse the stories of "their fathers' doings" on the battle field of Flodden; and there were also there and at Knowsley local celebrities who had known Burscough Abbey before its days of trouble, and who had been present within its sacred walls when more than one member of the founder's family had found a final home within its "hallowed precincts." Amongst the frequent guests at Lathom and Knowsley, besides the immediate members of the Stanley family, we meet with the names of noble and honourable personages from whom are descended the Molyneuxes of Sefton; the Heskeths of Rufford; the Traffords of Trafford; the Gerards of Garswood; the Townleys of Towneley; the present Lady Scarisbrick of Scarisbrick, who now represents the ancient families of Dicconson, Eccleston, and Wroughton; the Hultons; the Faringtons of Worden; and other noted families in Lancashire; the Grosvenors of Eaton; the Stanleys of Alderley; the Wilbrahams; the Brookes of Norton; the Leghs of Lyme; the Tattons of Withenshaw; and other Cheshire families of high repute.

Amongst the domestic servants at Lathom House in the halcyon days of the Elizabethan Earls of Derby we meet with the familiar local names of William Aspeinowle (Aspinwall), "the cooke;" and also that of the "Lathom Patriarch," Henry Parker, "Yeman of the Wardropp," who was "well likett and taken for his place." The "patriarch," so called on account of his great age, studied astronomy and astrology, in which sciences he appears to have made considerable proficiency. Some of his astronomical figures and diagrams, together with the signs of the Zodiac, were painted by him upon a large screen, with their symbolical meanings. This screen, which probably fell into the hands of the sequestrators,

was placed in the great hall at Lathom, for the edification and curiosity of the retainers of the family.

The same courtly splendour, hospitality, and munificence, and the same principles and ceremonials at Lathom and Knowsley were observed in the household arrangements of Henry, the fourth Earl of Derby, as in the days of his illustrious and munificent father, the noble Earl having secured and enjoyed the experience and advantage of the same "Steward of the Household" by the re-appointment of Mr. ffarrington to that honourable and important office, whose duty it was to have control over all servants, to pay wages, and to rectify all the evils of the household.

Thomas Challoner, a poet in the time of Henry Earl of Derby, pays the following tribute to the memory of the noble peer :—

"And in the tyme that Henry raigned of Derbe Erle and Lord,
Standley and Strainge, the Isles of Man w'ch yeldethe like accorde,
Knight of the honorable ord' of St. Georges garter,
W'th Elizabeth queene well likt and of her subjects in grete favo'."

In those days, the other nobles of Lancashire, in their baronial halls, were distinguished for the munificence of the age, so much so that Camden, speaking of the Lancashire men generally, says :—"You may determine the goodness of the county by the temperament of the inhabitants, who are extremely comely."—*Britannica*, iii., 377. Early in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the wearing of great breeches appears to have been carried to a very absurd and ridiculous length, together with the peas-cod doublet, as it was termed. These sloops, or breeches, or trunk hose, it was their custom to stuff with rags, or such like materials, till they brought them to an enormous size, so enormous that it was deemed necessary to legislate for their regulation; but the legislators themselves, however, appear to have fallen into the same absurdity. In the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts (980), there is a paper, from which it appears, that in the reign of Elizabeth, a scaffold was erected round the inside of the House of Commons for such of the members to sit on who persisted in the wearing of great breeches stuffed with hair, and bulging out like wool-sacks.* In his pedigree of an "English gallant," Bulver speaks of a man, whom the judges accused of wearing breeches contrary to the law, when he, for his excuse, drew out of his sloops the following articles,—“first, a pair of sheets, two

* In the reign of Henry VIII. there appears to have been an affectation of female attire in the men, for the Lord Chamberlain is described in the book of Kervynge, as giving instructions,—“Warne your soverayne hys petycote, hys doublet, and his stomachre; and then put on hys hosen, and then hys schone of sylppers, then stryke up his hosen mannerlye, and tye them up, then lace his doublet hole by hole,” &c.

table cloths, ten napkins, four shirts, a brush, a glass, a comb, with night-caps," and other useful articles. In order to secure this fashionable rotundity and grotesqueness of attire, the ladies, we are told, invented what was called a "hoop farthingale," as a companion to the petticoat, and the common women, who could not purchase these expensive articles, imitated their superiors by the adoption of bum-rolls. In Baines's *History of Lancashire* we meet with the following description of a fine lady's dress in the time of Elizabeth, as breathed in the wishes of Miss Margaret Hardman, whilst under the influence of *possession* (apparently by a spirit of pride), in the house of Mr. Nicholas Starkie, of Leigh, as narrated in a tract by the Rev. Geo. More :*—"Come on, my lad, said she, for so she called her familiar—come on, and set my partlett on the one side, as I do the other. I will have a fine smock of silk, with a silk petticoat garded a foot high ; it shall be laid with good lace, it shall have a French body, not of whalebone, for that is not stiff enough, but of horne, for that will hold it out ; it shall come low before, to keep in my belly. I will have a French farthingale ; I will have it low before and high behind, and broad on either side, that I may lay my arms upon it. My gown shall be black wrought velvet ; I will have my sleeves set out with wire, for sticks will break, and are not stiff enough. I will have my perewincke so fine ; I will have my cap of black velvet with a feather in it with flowers of gold, and my hair shall be set with pearls. I will have a busk of whalebone ; it shall be tied with two silk points ; and I will have a drawn wrought stomacher embossed with gold, and a girdle of gold. I will have my hose of orange colour, this is in request ; and my cork shoes of red Spanish leather. I will have a scarf of red silk, with a gold lace about the edge. I will have a fan with a silver steel, and a glass set in it. Bring me a pair of gloves of the finest leather that may be, with two gold laces about the thumb, and a fringe on the top, with flewes and red silk underneath, that I may draw them through a gold ring, or else I will have none of them." In speaking of the inhabitants, John de Bentford notes,—“The manners and customs of the inhabitants of Lancashire are similar to those of the neighbouring counties, except that the people eat with two-pronged forks. The men are masculine, and in general well made ; they ride and hunt the same as in the most southern parts ; but not with that grace, owing to the whip being carried

* Published in 1600.

in the left hand. The women are most handsome, their eyes brown, black, hazel, blue, or grey; their noses, if not inclined to the aquiline, are mostly of the Grecian form, which gives a most beautiful archness to the countenance, such indeed as is not easy to be described. Their fascinating manners have long procured for them the name of *Lancashire Witches*."

It has already been observed that Henry, the fourth Earl of Derby, left two sons, namely, Ferdinando and William, who became successively Earls of Derby. The elder son,

FERDINANDO, FIFTH EARL OF DERBY,

Enjoyed the titles and princely estates of his noble ancestors for a limited time only. In 1579, he married Alice, the youngest of six daughters of Sir John Spencer, of Althorpe. This Earl, like his father, is represented as having been a young nobleman of great genius and superior accomplishments; and appears to have held a position as a writer and a poet amongst the most celebrated men of his own day, with whom he and his Countess were personages of frequent allusion: Thus, with Spencer, we find Earl Ferdinando personified as "Amyntas," and the Countess Alice as "Amaryllis;" and many of that "immortal band" of writers, whose labours have thrown a halo around the "golden days" of England's Virgin Queen, shared the bounty and the patronage of the noble Earl of Lathom and his accomplished Countess. The writings of Ferdinando, Lord Strange, are contained in the collection of English Poems, entitled "Belvedere, or the Garden of the Muses," published in 1610, in which the name of Lord Strange occurs in the table of contents, but, as none of the pieces bear the noble lord's signature, writers are at a loss to state which are really his lordship's productions. A pastoral ballad, consisting of thirty-seven verses, is ascribed to him, the five first verses of which run as follow:—

" There was a shepherd that did live
And held his thoughtes as highe
As were the mounts whereon his sheepe
Did hourly feed him by.

He in his youth, his tender youth,
That was unapte to keepe
Or hopes or feares, or loves, or cares,
Or thoughtes, but of his sheep.

Did with his dog as Shepherds do,
For Shepherds fail in wit,
Devise him sports, though foolish sports,
Yet sports for Shepherds fit.

Who, free from cares, his only care
Was where his flock did go
And that was much to him that knew
No other cares but so.

This boy, which yet was but a boy,
And so desires were hid,
Did grow a man, and men must love,
And love the Shepherd did."

The death of Ferdinando was foolishly attributed to witchcraft;* and in "a true reporte of such reasons and conjectures as cause verie many and the same also verie learned men to suppose is Hon. to be bewitched," the artifices which were adopted at the time to divert suspicion from the real cause of his death are detailed by "the verie learned" with very great credulity, who inform us that on the 10th of April, about midnight, was found in his lordship's bedchamber by one Mr. Halsall, an image of wax with hair like the hair of his "Hon: Head, twisted throwe the bellie therof, from the navell" downwards; and, the "verie learned" also inform us that "a homelie woman, about fiftie years old, was found mumbling in a corner of his Hon: chamber: but what God knoweth. This wise woman, as they termed her, seemed often to ease his Hon: both of his vomiting and sicknes. But that felle out w'ch was strange, that when so long as his Hon: was diseased the woman her self was troubled most vehemently in the same manner. The matter w'ch she vomited being

* In the autumn of 1612, no less than nineteen persons were tried at the Assizes at Lancaster, these being known as the Witches of Pendle Forest. Margaret Pearson, one of the nineteen, was tried:—1st, for murder by witchcraft; 2nd, for bewitching a neighbour; 3rd, for bewitching a horse; and being acquitted of the two former charges, was sentenced for the last to stand upon the pillory, in the markets of Clitheroe, Padiham, Colne, and Lancaster, for four successive market days, with a printed paper upon her head, stating her offence. The infliction of death for witchcraft in England was generally by hanging; but in Scotland, in 1608, according to the Earl of Mar's declaration, in Sir Walter Scott's *Demonology*, "some women were taken in Broughton as witches, and put to an assize and convicted; albeit they persevered constant to the end, yet they were burned quick [alive] after such a cruel manner, that some of them died in despair, renouncing and blaspheming God; and others, half burnt, brake out of the fire, and were cast quick in it again, till they were burned to the death." The belief in witchcraft was not confined to the poor and illiterate merely, for it appears that royalty itself, in the person of James I., and even the judges of the land half-believed in the delusion, and encouraged the diabolical punishment of those suspected of having the power of witchcraft. A Bull of Pope Innocent VIII. empowers the inquisition of Almain to destroy and burn witches. At the Assizes at Bury St. Edmonds, in 1664, Amy Dunny and Rose Cullender were tried before the venerable, learned, and pious Sir Matthew Hale, and, being convicted, were hanged, both protesting that they were innocent. To discover what King James, in his *Demonologie* called the "witch-mark," or the devil's stigma, that is, a part of the body insensible to pain, and which was supposed to be possessed by the devil, as a sign of his sovereign power, and as the place at which the imps sucked! sometimes the accused were thrown into a river, or pond, having their thumbs and toes tied together, where, if they sank, they were held innocent, but if they swam, were dragged forth to prison. On other occasions, the suspected witch was bound cross-legged on a stool, there to be watched, and kept without meat or sleep for the space of twenty-four hours, within which time it was supposed that her imp would make her a visit, and so betray him or her.—Gaulle mentions that there were eight classes of witches distinguished by their operations: first, the diviner, gipsy, or fortune-telling witch; second, the astrologian, star-gazing, planetary, or prognosticating witch; third, the chanting, canting, or calculating witch, who works by signs or numbers; fourth, the venefick, or poisonous witch; fifth, the exorcist, or conjuring witch; sixth, the gastromantic witch; seventh, the magical, speculative, sciential, or arted witch; eighth, the necromancer. In this superstitious age, "The Lancashire Witches" were, for the most part, of the first and fifth class, being fortune-tellers and conjurers, and the most popular security against witchcraft appears to have been the horse-shoe, which up to a very recent date figured, and in some places in Lancashire still figures on the doors of stables, &c. In Roby's *Traditions of Lancashire*, the reader will find this popular delusion treated with much life and humour.

like also vnto that w^{ch} passed from his Hon: But at the last when this woman was happellie espied by one of y^e doctors tempering and blistering (after hir ill favoured manner) the iuce of certayne herbes, hir potte wher into she strayned the iuce, was tumbled downe by y^e same doctor, and she ran out of the chamber notwthstanding she did saie that she would not cease to ease his Hon: although she could not p^rfectlie cure him, because he was so stronglie bewitched." We are also seriously informed that "he fell twice into a trance, not able to move hand or foot, when he would have taken phissicke to do him good. In the end he cried often against witches and witchcraft, reposing his only hope of salvation upon the merits of Christ Jesus his Saviour." And "one excellent speech can not be omitted amongst many in the time of his sicknes, especiallie the daie before he departed, at w^{ch} time he desired one of his doctors whom especiallie he loued to p^rswade him no longer to liue, because (saith he) although out of thy loue, thou wouldest stirre vp hope of life, and doest imploy all thy witt, art, and trauaile, I pray thee cease, for I am resolued p^rsentlie to die, and to take awaie wth me onelie one part of my arms, I mean the Eagle's winges, so will I flie swiftlie into the bosome of Christ my onelie Saviour. And wth that he sent for his ladie, & gaue his last vale or farewell, desiring her to take awaye & loue his doctor, and also to give him some Jewell, wth his armes and name that he might be remembered, the w^{ch} thing im^ediatlie after his death was most honourably p^rformed."* The symptoms attending his lordship's sickness are minutely set forth in "a brief declaration touching the strange sicknes and death of y^e most honorable Ferdinando late Earle of Derby, gathered by those who were p^rsent with him all the time therof." In this declaration his death is not attributed either to witchcraft or poison, but reads as follows:—"His Hon. diseases apparant, were vomiting of sowtie or rustiey matter, wth blood, the yellow Jaundice: melting of his fatt: swelling and hardnes of his spleen: a violent hickcock and some days before he died stopping of his water. The causes of all these diseases were thought by the Phisitians to be partly a surfett partly a most violent distempering of himself wth vehement exercise taken iiij dayes together in Easter weeke."

Another opinion respecting the circumstances attending the Earl's sickness and death is, that he was poisoned by the gentleman of his horse, who, as soon as the Earl took to his

* Harleian MS., 247, folio 204a., 205.

bed, secured his best horse and fled. The cause assigned for this diabolical act, but which is not very satisfactory, is related by Seacombe to be that Queen Elizabeth having at that time many seditious subjects who had fled to foreign courts to avoid punishment, these fugitives sent over one Richard Hacket to prevail upon the Earl of Derby to set up a claim to the crown of England, founded on his descent from Mary, second daughter of Henry VII., threatening that if he did not undertake this enterprise, that he should shortly die in a most wretched manner. The Earl naturally declined embarking in a plot so disloyal and absurd, but it is extraordinary that he suffered Hacket to escape. Shortly after this he was seized with the strange sickness, which so prematurely brought his career to a close. The fact of the poisoning, however, appears to be well established by the symptoms of the disease, for his vomit "was so violent and corroding, that it stained the silver andirons in the chimney of his room, upon which he had vomited, and when dead, though his body was wrapped in scarcloth, and covered with lead, yet did it so corrupt and putrefy that for a long time after none could endure to come near the place it was laid in till his burial."

Earl Ferdinando died at Lathom House, on the 16th April, 1594, and by his will, bearing date 12th April, he bequeathed his body to be buried in his chapel at Ormskirk, where he was interred on the 28th of May. Spenser thus laments the death of this unfortunate Earl:—

"There also is—(ah no! he is not now!)
 But since I said he is, he quite is gone.
 Amyntas quite is gone, and lies full low,
 Having his Amaryllis left to mone;
 Help, O ye shepherds! help ye all in this
 Help Amaryllis this her loss to mourn;
 Her loss is yours, your loss Amyntas is,
 Amyntas, flower of the shepherd's pride forlorn.
 He, whilst he lived, was the noblest swain
 That ever piped on an oaten quill:
 Both did he other, which could pipe, maintain,
 And eke could pipe himself with passing skill."

The death of the noble Earl Ferdinando was universally lamented, for although he had been cut off "in the flower of his youth," he had already not failed to prove himself good to his tenantry, kind to his friends, charitable to the poor; a generous master, a loving and indulgent husband, and a tender and affectionate parent; and he had been honoured by his Queen with the noble Order of the Garter.

Earl Ferdinando left three daughters:—1, Ann, who married Grey Bruges, Lord Chandos; 2, Frances, who became the wife of John Egerton, Earl of Bridgewater; 3, Elizabeth, who married Henry Hastings, the Earl of Huntingdon.

Alice, the Dowager Countess of Derby, was again married in 1600 to Lord Ellesmere, the Lord High Chancellor. In 1602, Lord Ellesmere purchased Harefield, in Middlesex; and in the autumn of that year, Queen Elizabeth visited the Countess of Derby at Harefield. The Countess died January 26th, 1635, in the 75th year of her age.

At Worden Hall there are portraits of the three Elizabethan Earls of Derby—Edward, Henry, and Ferdinando,—and Canon Raines is of opinion that these fine old portraits were presented to Mr. ffarrington, the Comptroller of the Household, by the noble individuals whom they represent. Etchings of the original pictures, from the accurate pencil of Miss ffarrington, are given in Canon Raines's "Derby Household Books," published by the Chetham Society.

WILLIAM, SIXTH EARL OF DERBY.

This nobleman, who succeeded his brother Ferdinando as the sixth Earl of Derby, was born at Lathom House in 1561 or 1562, being the younger son of Henry, the fourth Earl of Derby.

At an early age he appears to have displayed an enterprising and martial spirit, to which was also added a predilection for foreign travel. His intelligence and agreeable conversational abilities made him a great favourite with his noble father, who, it is said, treated him with the greatest indulgence. The travels and adventures of the gallant youth have afforded favourite themes to his biographers and the old verse writers, who inform us, that having by his entreaties induced the Earl, his father, to allow him to travel for three years on the continent, preparations were made for his departure; and, accompanied by a preceptor, and attended by two servants,

"—— Sir William took leave of Lathom Hall,
And of all that in lovely Lathom lay.

But as soon as Sir William was got on ship-board
He to himself did secretly say,
I'll make a vow to the living Lord,
That three seven years I'll make away."

He first sailed to France, where, at the tournaments given by the French Court, the spirited and young English nobleman did not fail to display his courage and superior knowledge of military tactics, by which he frequently carried away the prize. Having remained three years in France, during which time he formed an acquaintance with the antiquities, manners, and customs of that nation, and visited the universities and seats

of learning, he passed into Spain, and whilst in Madrid, the capital, he so far became the envy of the "haughty Dons" at the Court, that his honour caused him to challenge one of the Spanish noblemen to single combat, which challenge being accepted, Sir William Stanley was accompanied to the field by an English gentleman, who was then residing at Madrid. The preliminaries being arranged, the Spanish Don and the noble and gallant adventurer from "lovely Lathom" engaged in a bloody conflict. The first onset is said to have been a desperate essay on the part of the Spaniard, who soon partially succeeded in a thrust he attempted at Sir William, but which the latter, with great dexterity, parried off, though not without receiving a slight wound in the inside of his right arm, and his foot slipping at the same time, he fell to the ground. Without assistance, however, he immediately sprang upon his feet again, eager for a second encounter with his foe. The Spaniard, priding himself in his apparent superiority, and enjoying the advantage of being on his own soil, affected little caution in his defences, but being closely pressed and annoyed by the tactics of his spirited and undaunted antagonist, he discovered the necessity of resuming in earnest his most cautious and vigorous efforts. Thrice he aimed the mortal wound, but thrice he was disappointed in his object by the skill and alacrity of Sir William, who, making a well-directed thrust at the Spaniard, gave him a most severe wound in his right breast, which brought the gallant Don, in his turn, to measure his full length on the ground. Though the wound inflicted on the Spaniard was not mortal, yet it bled so profusely, that it was represented to him that the renewal of the contest would be madness, rather than the vindication of his honour. The enraged Spaniard, however, heeded not the remonstrances of his friends and countrymen, and so determined to meet his opponent in a third encounter. The Don, exasperated at having a superior in the person of the noble hero from Lathom, lost all temper and prudence. Sir William, closely watching the shifts and desperation of the Spaniard, at first acted only on the defensive, and then seizing the first advantage, he inflicted a second and more dangerous wound on his antagonist, below the breast. The Don was now reluctantly obliged to yield the laurels of victory to his English antagonist, who, we are told, bore the victory with the greatest moderation; and, after attempting, in vain, a friendly reconciliation with the wounded and defeated Spaniard, left the scene of the combat.

Shortly after this contest, Sir William quitted Spain, and returned into France, whence he proceeded to Italy, where he travelled in the character of a mendicant friar, studying and making himself acquainted with the monuments of antiquity and other objects of interest, which have given to that classic land a world-wide importance and celebrity.

Sir William next set out for Egypt, and having procured a native guide, he proceeded to reconnoitre the river Nile. He had not, however, made much progress on its banks before he and his guide were thrown into great consternation by the unexpected appearance of a large male tiger, which had concealed itself behind a thicket. The hideous howl raised by the infuriated animal was more than sufficient to terrify the most undaunted mind, and caused the guide to stand aghast, as one expecting every moment to be devoured. Sir William, however, we are told, had fortunately taken the precaution to have with him two loaded pistols. Nor was he wanting in presence of mind, for, seeing the ferocious monster approach, intent upon its prey, he drew one of his pistols and discharged it at the tiger when nearly close upon him. Unfortunately, he missed his mark; but, stepping to one side, the animal sprang past him, when, as it turned round upon him again, Sir William fired his other pistol, and lodged its contents in the tiger's breast, which caused the animal to stagger. Sir William then drew his sword, with which he felled his adversary dead on the spot.

Having visited the wondrous sights to be seen in Egypt, Sir William passed into Palestine, and then proceeded, as the versifier informs us,—

“ Likewise to fair Jerusalem
Where our blessed Saviour Christ did die,
He asked them if it was so,
They answered and told him, Aye,
This is the tree the Jews then said,
Whereon the Carpenter's Son did die,
That was my Saviour, Sir William said,
For sure he died for the sins of me.”

Our hero, we are told, next past into Turkey, where he had a discussion with a Pasha, in which he defended Christianity and the Bible, and denounced the Mahometan religion as false and deceptive. For this the gallant knight was cast into a filthy and dismal prison, where he appears to have remained incarcerated for a considerable length of time, and was only released from “*durance vile*” through the intercession of a lady, three days before his intended execution, for blasphemy against the religion of Mahomet.

Sir William having remained at Constantinople for some time, next determined upon visiting Russia, and, after traversing a considerable part of that vast empire, he reached Moscow, where he met with a reception much more liberal and humane than it had been his lot to experience in the capital of Turkey. Whilst at the Russian Court, at Moscow, Sir William is said to have been accidentally informed by Dr. Dee,* a physician from Manchester, of the death of his father and brother. In England, Sir William's existence, it is said, was much questioned; and, in consequence, the guardians of the daughters of his brother, the late Earl Ferdinando, had taken possession of the whole property, without reference to Sir William's priority or right as male heir, so that on his return to his native country† he found himself both unexpected and unwelcome, and thus—

“ Standing bare at Lathom Gate
Desiring to speak with the Old Earl,
The Porter thrust him back again
Much like unto a dogged Churl.”

In this disheartening and forlorn situation, the knight was recognised by several old tenants on the estates of Lathom, Dalton, and Newburgh, who, knowing him to be the heir to the earldom of Derby, encouraged and supplied him with money to support his claim; and it was only after vexatious law-suits and much delay that he obtained the family estates, which, in the aggregate, suffered great diminution, in consequence of a partition made between himself and the daughters and co-heiresses of his unfortunate brother, Ferdinando. The Lancashire estates and other large possessions in the adjacent counties accompanied the descent of the earldom; but Earl William had to purchase the claim of his nieces to the Isle of Man, which was ratified by Parliament and a renewed grant from the Crown.

On the 26th June, 1594, being then in his thirty-second year, Earl William was married with great pomp, at Greenwich, to Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward Vere, the seventh Earl of Oxford. At this time there were two Lady Derbys, the Dowager Countess, aged about forty-four, and the

* On the 26th June, 1596, William, Earl of Derby, Mr. Hoghton, and others, on their way to Lyme, called unexpectedly upon Dr. Dee, the warden of Manchester, who made them what he calls “a skoller's collation,” which was taken in good part; and the warden afterwards conducted the party to Ardwick Green, on their way to Lyme.—See *Dee's Diary*, p. 55.

† It is not easy to reconcile dates with the return, age, and travels of Sir William Stanley. Some writers state that in 1593 he was governor of the Isle of Man, whilst his father, Earl Henry, died in 1592, and his elder brother, Earl Ferdinando, in 1594. Seacombe records that one hundred and fifty years ago, Earl William was traditionally held to be a great traveller, and that by his great grandson. That Sir William, during his father's lifetime, was abroad, is proved by a letter of Mr. Faunt, in Birch's *Elizabeth*.

Countess of Earl William, aged about thirty ; and it is worthy of remark that they both rode in King James's procession, in 1603, being then distinguished as the old and young Countess. There appears to have been a singular circumstance connected with Earl William's marriage. Lord Oxford had, for his first wife, Anne Cecil, daughter of the great Lord Burleigh ; and when that minister refused, at his instance to intercede on behalf of the condemned Duke of Norfolk, Lord Oxford revenged himself by deserting his wife and family, dismantling his houses, and laying waste his estates ; so that the Countess of Derby's portion was paid by her grandfather, Lord Burleigh. Earl William stood high in the estimation of the King, James I., which may be inferred from the fact of the mutual interchange of new-year's gifts between his Majesty and the Earl of Derby, and from the present of plate given to the Earl on the christening of his son and heir, James, in 1606, the great Earl of Derby, who was destined to die on the scaffold at Bolton in the cause of the Stuarts. And the respect in which the Earl was held will also further appear from the following particulars connected with a royal visit : James I., whose eldest son, Henry, had been created Earl of Chester, a title which, after his death, was conferred on Charles, his second son, visited the county in 1617, in great state, being attended by "many honourable earls, reverend bishops, and worthy knights and courtiers, besides all the gentry of the shire." The King was received at Chester with every mark of loyalty by the mayor and officers of the city, who, after a series of entertainments, presented him with "a fair standing cup, having a cover doubly gilt, and therein one hundred jacobins of gold." Among the parties in attendance on this occasion was William, Earl of Derby, who was then chamberlain of the palatine.

The Stanley family had for several centuries been connected with Cheshire, and had enjoyed many offices of the highest distinction ; and, upon every occasion, the citizens of Chester were anxious to shew their respect to the members of a family that had so greatly contributed to their welfare ; and in the Harleian MSS. it is recorded that, on the 18th September, 1630, there "came to Chester, being on a Saturday, the duchess of Tremoyle in France, and mother-in-law to the Lord Strange [James, eldest son of Earl William], and many other great estates ; and all the gentry of Cheshire, Flintshire, and Denbighshire, went to meet her at Hoole Heath, with the Earl of Derby, being at least six hundred men ; all the

gentlemen of the artelery yard, lately erected at Chester, met her in Cow Lane in very stately manner, all with great white and blue fithers, and went before her chariot to the bishop's pallas, and making a yard, let her thro' the midst, and there gave her three volleys of shot, and so returned to their yard; also the maior and aldermen in their best gowns and aparel, were on a stage in the Eastgate street to entertagn her."

As soon as he had got finally seated in his possessions, Earl William surrendered the cares and duties of his vast estates to his son, Lord Strange, whom, as the old chroniclers say, "he put into present possession of all his rights, including the lordship of the Isle of Man, reserving to himself only £1,000 per annum, with which he retired to close his life in peace on the banks of the Dee." It is said that the Earl resided in the summer months at Bidston Hall,* and in the winter months at Chester.

Sir William by his Countess had three daughters and three sons:—1, Elizabeth, born at Russel House, in the Strand, in 1596, and died in 1597.—2, Anne, married, 1st, Sir Henry Portman, of Somerset, and 2nd, Sir Robert Kerr, Earl of Ancram.—3, Elizabeth, buried at Ormskirk, 17th October, 1608, aged 8.—4, James, his successor.—5, Sir Robert Stanley, K.B., who married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Arthur Gorges, who, fixing his residence at Chelsea, called his mansion Stanley House. He died on the 3rd Jan., 1632, and was interred in the church at Chelsea, on the 23rd of the same month; and a monument with a bust and epitaph still record the affection of his surviving friends; but this branch of the family has become extinct, and since then Stanley House has had many possessors, and has undergone many alterations.—6, Charles Henry, died unmarried in 1629, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

The Countess of Earl William died on the 11th March, 1626, aged 51, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Earl William, having returned to Chester, died on the 29th September, 1642, aged 80, and was buried at Chester, but his

* In *Webb's Description of Wirral*, written in 1615-6, we meet with the following account of Bidston:—"And so we come to Bidston, a goodly house, demesne, and park, of the right honourable William Earl of Derby; which, though it be less than many other seats which his honour hath, wherein to make his residences when he is so pleased; yet for the pleasant situation of this, and the variety of noble delights appendent to it, his lordship seems much to affect the same, and enlargeth the conveniences therein for his pleasure and abode many ways, which, with craving pardon for my bold collections, I suppose his honour doth out of his honourable love to this our county, that he might have the more of his presence here, where he bears the great places of his majesty's lord-lieutenant in the causes military, and the prince's highness, chamberlain of the county palatine, as his noble and worthy ancestors have done before him."

body was removed and re-interred in the Derby Chapel, at the Ormskirk Parish Church, 30th June, 1662.

It was during the lifetime of Earl William that the immortal Shakspeare, in the tragedies of the second and third parts of King Henry VI. and Richard III., introduced members of the House of Stanley amongst the characters represented, and that Ford, in the play of Perkin Warbeck, described the fate of the wealthy and brave Sir William Stanley in the reign of Henry VII. Another member of the Stanley family has also received the special attention of the great bard in the perpetuation of his memory, this being Sir Thomas Stanley, knight, uncle of Earl William, and the second son of Earl Edward, who became possessed of Tong Hall, in Shropshire, in right of his wife Margaret, daughter and co-heir of Sir George Vernon, knight, of Nether Haddon, in the county of Derby. This gallant knight lived in great splendour, and was magnificently entombed at his death, which took place about the year 1600. The epitaph here alluded to is thus noticed by Sir William Dugdale: "On the north side of the chauncell of Tongue Church, in the county of Salop, stands a very stately tomb, supported with Corinthian columns. It hath two figures of men in armour thereon lying—the one below the arches and columns, and the other above them—and this epitaph upon it:—"

'Thomas Stanley Knight, second son of Edward Earl of Derby, &c. These following verses were made by William Shakspeare the late famous tragedian.

(Written upon the east end of the tomb.)

Aske who lyes here, but do not weepe,
He is not dead, he doth but sleepe;
This stony register is for his bones,
His fame is more perpetual than these stones,
And his own goodness, with himself being gone,
Shall live, when earthly monument is none.

(Written upon the west side thereof.)

Not monumental stone preserves our fame,
Nor skye-aspiring pyramids our name;
The memory of him for whom this stands
Shall outlive marble and defacer's hands;
When all to Time's consumption shall be given,
Stanley for whom this stands, shall stand in heaven."

JAMES (LORD STRANGE) SEVENTH EARL OF DERBY.

To this nobleman—the brave and martyred Earl of Derby—posterity have felt it only becoming that he should share the title of "The Great Earl of Derby" with his illustrious ancestor, Edward, the third Earl, whose loyalty, princely hospitality, and spotless character the noble Earl James himself imitated, and strongly recommended to his own son Charles in the following terms:—"For patterne, follow

Edward ; who left so excellent a name behind him, that no vice or fault is of him at all remembered. He was ever faithful to the Crowne ; and took great glory in it, which I pray may be your pride." "He was an excellent economist ;" "to maintaine which, he looked carefully to his estate ; for he never exceeded his comings in, and died rich." "The country was his home ; but he was noe stranger to the Court. He was familiar, but not cheape. He was observed to weare the plainest clothes, but always in the fashion ; not too much or too little ; or too soon, or too late. Enquire more of him, and you will learn more by him." In the Harleian MSS., No. 2,129, fol. 35, there is an anonymous epitaph upon Edward Earl of Derby, wherein the memory of that magnificent nobleman is enshrined, which shews that his noble descendant, Earl James, had just cause to be proud of his noble and munificent ancestor :—

"Behould heare lyeth close in clay
A wight of worthy fame
Of Statelie stock, of Lordlye line
And Stanley was his name.

Our noble Queene bewailes the losse
Of such a precious perle
A thousand times, no doubt, she sayes,
He was a noble Earle.

In helthe and sicknesse well he lyv'd
And well he toke his ende,
Would God eich one would learn by him
Their spotted lyffes to mend.

The heavens doth now possess his soule
The earth his corps retayns
Hys passed lyfe a looking glasse
For others yet remaynes."

Prior to the attainment of his majority, very little is known of Lord Strange ; but there can be no doubt that his youthful days were spent in the acquirements of an education becoming his rank. The prevailing opinion seems to be that he received the rudiments of his education from some private teacher in his native country, as in those days public schools and universities were little resorted to or appreciated by the nobility, or even by the upper ranks of the wealthier gentry ; and that he afterwards travelled abroad to learn the languages, for, addressing his son, already noticed, he observes :—"You have already received the benefit of your mother's language, so you need not travel as I and others have done, to pass our time forwards, while we lost so much of our life to have studied men and manners." He is admitted to have been a man of undoubted learning and great mental capacity ; and had attained a rare eloquence in the expression of his thoughts,

in which "we are left to admire how the Christian and the politician can be blended together."

Being then only nineteen years of age, Lord Strange was one of the many knights of the Bath appointed at the coronation of King Charles I.; and was summoned to Parliament as Sir James Stanley, Chevalier de Strange, without any local title, during the lifetime of his father, on the 18th February, 1627.

On the 25th of June, 1626, Lord Strange married Charlotte de la Tremouille, second but only surviving daughter of Claude, Duc de Tremouille, and Charlotte Brabantine de Nassau, daughter of William, Prince of Orange, of Charlotte of Bourbon, daughter of Louis, Duc de Montpensier. The Duke of Tremouille was a Huguenot, and a faithful follower of Henry IV. By this union, Lord Strange became allied to the houses of Nassau and Bourbon, and to most of the Sovereign Princes of Europe.

For some time Lord and Lady Strange entered into the gaities of the Court. In 1630, Lord Strange acted at Court in Jonson's *Love's Triumph through Callipolis*, being one of the fifteen lovers who ranged themselves "seven and seven on a side, with each a Cupid before him with a lighted torch," the King being in the centre; the seventh lover, the secure, was acted by Lord Strange; and the ninth, the substantial, by his brother, Sir Robert Stanley.* In the same year, at Court also, Charlotte de la Tremouille, Lady Strange, was one of the fourteen nymphs who sat round the Queen in the bower, in white dresses embroidered in silver.

In 1630, Lord Strange was made lieutenant of the counties of Lancaster, Chester, and Flint.

About the year 1635, Lord and Lady Strange ceased to visit London, and appear to have sought in their education of a numerous family, and in the exercise of a princely hospitality, some relief from the gloomy politics of the day. It is observed that all the most propitious circumstances seemed to have combined to bless the union of Lord and Lady Strange: the purest mutual affection, which continued to the end of their chequered career; congenial talents and tempers; a numerous and beloved family; the most exalted birth, with immense revenues; and the whole crowned by a just reputation for the practice of all virtues. In these days of happiness, Lord Strange passed his time in splendid privacy; superintending the several princely establishments of his father in

Lancashire and in the Isle of Man ; cultivating the morals and manners of a numerous population, who looked upon him with filial respect ; and employing his leisure in studies not less philosophic than polite ; and his house is mentioned by the Marquis de Bassompierre, as having been opened to distinguished foreigners, who were frequently his guests at Lathom and Knowsley.

In order that the reader may form some idea of the personal appearance of Lord Strange, who was destined to take so distinguished a part in the Civil War during the time of the Stuart Kings, Charles I. and Charles II., we glean the following interesting particulars from *The Kaleidoscope*, published in Liverpool by Egerton Smith and Co., in 1821. We are informed that in person he was rather below the common size of men ; of an athletic make, his countenance being one of those old Stanley faces which we love to look upon as they darken in their dingy frames over the mantle-pieces of ancient inns, and associate with them deeds of chivalry as enduring as the history of that country with whose annals their names are so proudly associated. "The most remarkable feature, and in this he somewhat differs from his family, is the almost total want of forehead, which is rendered more remarkable by the combing of his lank-brown hair straight down ; this hangs behind, long, but little curled, and is far from being a graceful addition to his portrait. The eyes are sunk in the head, large and of a clear brown, not sparkling, but full of a grave and almost melancholy expression. There is a remarkable difference in pictures as to the placing of the eye-brows ; in some they are high and arched, and have a very vacant appearance ; in others near and even, as though the possessor of them had passed an unruffled life. The nose is large, but not in the least degree aquiline, and the latest paintings represent his cheeks full and ruddy, with no marks of age. He wore mustachios, but had not the tuft on the chin usual in King Charles's days. The face is a very remarkable one ; and whilst in some portraits you fancy him the possessor of that quiet and determined courage for which he has been so renowned, and of that serene and tranquil piety in which his whole life was passed ; by other artists he is given with a dark and troubled expression of face, leading us almost to believe the popular tradition, that there were moments when he was not wholly himself." There are many portraits of the great nobleman. That at Knowsley, by Vandyke, is drawn in a full suit of polished steel, but with his casque in his hand, leaving



Vandyk- r x

JAMES STANLEY,

EARL OF DERBY.

OB. 1651.

the head uncovered, except by the flowing locks, which extend to the eyebrows, and fall in copious clusters over his shoulders and back, and in spite of the mustache, the countenance mild, beaming with intelligence.

During the retirement of Lord Strange with his family at Lathom, the arbitrary character and measures of Charles I. were bringing upon this country the horrors of the "Great Civil War." Three Parliaments having been dissolved, the King adopted the policy of a despot, and commenced governing without a parliament, considering himself the supreme magistrate to whose care heaven, by his birth-right, had committed his people, whose duty it was to provide for their security and happiness, and who was vested with ample discretionary power for that salutary purpose; and, after the imposing of ship-money, in order to discourage all opposition, the King proposed to the judges, "Whether in a case of necessity, for the defence of the kingdom, he might not impose this taxation, and whether he were not the sole judge of the necessity," to which he received from the judges the following self-gratifying reply, "That in a case of necessity, he might impose that taxation, and that he was sole judge of the necessity," a most dangerous conviction for a monarch to entertain and attempt to carry into effect, whose subjects had for so long enjoyed the advantages of a representative government, and were becoming more and more deeply impressed with the sacredness of their national rights and privileges, which the King either failed to appreciate, or wanted resolution, in the face of evil advisers, to temper and regulate. This state of things, however, lasted for about eight years, during which time the King rendered himself generally unpopular; but the only memorable attempt at resistance was made by John Hampden, who having been rated at twenty shillings for an estate which he possessed in the county of Buckingham, objected to pay his assessment of ship-money,* by which he acquired great popularity, amongst the enemies

* Ship-money was introduced in 1634, and the first writs were directed to seaport towns only; but ship-money was now levied on the whole kingdom, and each county was rated at a particular sum, which was afterwards assessed upon individuals. The amount of the whole tax was very moderate, little exceeding £200,000. It was levied upon the people with equality, and the money was entirely expended on the navy, to the great honour and advantage of the kingdom. As England had no military force, while all the other powers of Europe were strongly armed, a fleet seemed absolutely necessary for her security: and it was obvious that a navy must be built and equipped at leisure, during peace, and could not possibly be fitted out on a sudden emergency when the danger became urgent; yet all these considerations could not reconcile the people to the imposition. To them it was entirely arbitrary: By the same right any other tax might be imposed; and although men thought a powerful fleet very desirable both for the credit and safety of the kingdom, yet they looked upon it as an unequal recompense for their liberties, which, they apprehended, were thus sacrificed to the attainment of it.—See *Hume*.

of the King, at least. His case was argued twelve days in April, 1637, before twelve judges, eight of whom decided in favour of the Crown; but Hampden* obtained by the trial the end for which he had sacrificed his safety and his quiet: The people were roused, as Hume says, from their lethargy, and became sensible of the dangers to which their liberties were exposed. At this time the question was also raised whether an individual could be lawfully detained in custody under a warrant which specified no cause, but merely contained the words *per speciale mandatum regis*, which, after displacing Chief Justice Crewe and substituting in his place a more convenient instrument in the person of Sir Nicholas Hyde, secured an affirmative decision, such a power being deemed absolutely necessary to despotic government.

At this time the opposition of the people of Scotland to the episcopal form of church government suddenly burst out into a flame. Nineteen-twentieths of the people of that country signed a parchment, called the "National Covenant," from which they were called "Covenanters," binding themselves to resist episcopacy, and to unite for the defence of their laws, their freedom, and their King; and in order to carry out their Covenant, they soon afterwards held a general assembly at Glasgow, when they excommunicated the bishops and abolished prelacy in Scotland. The King would gladly have crushed this bold opposition on the part of the Scotch people, but his want of money daily brought upon him new difficulties. In the beginning of 1638 the whole country was in a state of insurrection against the royal authority; and under these circumstances Charles found it necessary to call together his fourth Parliament, which met on the 13th April, 1640. Such, however, was the temper shewn by the Parliament assembled, that the King dissolved it on the 5th of May, after existing only about three weeks. The King then tried a Council of Peers alone; but they knew the Constitution too well to act apart from the Commons; and the only business effected by the Lords was to negotiate the treaty of Ripon with the Scotch, which was agreed to by the King to prevent the further advance of the malcontents from Scotland (who had already passed the border and possessed themselves of the

* Hampden became a leading member of the Commons, and at the commencement of the Civil War took up arms against the King; but fell in an engagement with Prince Rupert, on Chalgrove Field, Oxfordshire, 1643. Lord Clarendon says that Hampden "had a head to contrive, a tongue to persuade, and a heart to execute any mischief." Others, however, look upon Hampden's powers of mischief in a very different light, and rank him as one of England's worthies.

country as far as Newcastle, the royal soldiers in the field actually hesitating to act the part of soldiers against them); and temporarily to arrange for the support of both armies—friends and foes: all topics of contention awaiting a regular Parliamentary decision. Within six months after the sitting of the “Short Parliament,” the fifth and last Parliament of Charles’s reign, called the “Long Parliament,” began to sit, which lasted for more than nineteen years; and almost one of the first acts of this Parliament was to enter into an alliance with the insurgents,* which resulted in the overthrow of the monarchy and the execution of the sovereign.

In November, 1640, Strafford, who had accompanied the King in his expedition to the North, and had been his Majesty’s willing instrument in imposing taxes upon the kingdom, was now a mark by his enemies in the “Long Parliament,” who, with Pym at their head, impeached him for high treason at the bar of the Lords, and he was ordered into custody. The Commons, however, changed their course, and introduced a bill of attainder,† which was passed April 21, in the Commons, and soon after in the Lords. On the 8th May, the bill was presented to the King for his consent, with a view to its immediate execution. The King was now in a painful position. He summoned the prelates for their advice. Archbishop Usher and others counselled him to act upon the decision of the judges; Williams, of Lincoln, drew a distinction between his private and his public conscience, and argued the lawfulness of subordinating the former to the latter; while Bishop Juxon alone boldly advised him not to consent to a deed which his conscience condemned. Thus Charles hesitated, until a letter from the condemned Earl himself, desiring to be left to his fate, decided the matter. Charles performed the fatal act by commission, and that too after writing to Strafford in the following terms:—“Be sure, on

* In both the Short and Long Parliaments Oliver Cromwell represented Cambridge, and Sir Philip Warwick thus minutely describes his appearance in the house:—“The first time that I ever took notice of him was in the beginning of the Parliament held in November, 1640, when I vainly thought myself a courtly young gentleman (for we courtiers valued ourselves much upon our good clothes). I came one morning into the house well clad, and perceived a gentleman speaking (whom I knew not) very ordinarily appareled; for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor; his linen was plain, and not very clean; and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar; his hat was without a hat-band; his stature was of a good size; his sword stuck close to his side; his countenance swollen and reddish; his voice sharp and untunable, and his eloquence full of fervour.”

† Mr. Forster in his *Life of Strafford*, in *Lardner’s Cyclopædia*, p. 404, observes that “The resort to the bill of attainder arose from no failure in the impeachment, as has been frequently alleged, but because in the course of that impeachment circumstances arose which suggested to the great leader of the popular cause the greater safety of fixing this case upon wider grounds. Without stretching to the slightest extent the boundaries of any statute, they thought it better at once to bring Strafford’s treason to the condemnation of the sources of all law.”

my royal word, that you shall not suffer, either in your life, or in your fortune, or in your honour." Upon hearing of his fate, Strafford rose from his chair, lifted up his eyes to heaven, laid his hand upon his heart, and said, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men, for in them there is no salvation." Strafford was beheaded on Tower Hill, May 12, 1641. In the succeeding year the attainder was reversed, and his son was restored to the earldom. Archbishop Laud, a few weeks after the meeting of the Long Parliament, was also impeached for high treason by the House of Commons and committed to the Tower, and although he produced a pardon from the King, it was disregarded, and he was beheaded on the 10th January, 1640-1.

It appears, when the questions of liberty and rights were first agitated in opposition to the exorbitant claims of the prerogative set up by the King, Lord Strange had taken the popular side of the question, and his lordship's proceedings, in his voluntary retirement from public life, had been such as to cause suspicions of his loyalty at the Court, so deeply rooted (as Clarendon observes) that his blood was hardly sufficient afterwards to efface them. His enlightened and deep sense of religion had induced his lordship to place in almost all his livings men of austere piety; but these, and especially Herle, who was afterwards instituted into the rectory of Winwick by the Parliament, became his lordship's greatest enemies, and added no little to the sufferings of his noble Countess and family. The private retirement of Lord Strange from public affairs is also remarked upon as having been so rigid that he stayed away when Lord Strafford was voted to death; though, it must be observed, that in his treatise, he protests against the measure.

The condition of Charles had now become truly deplorable, for the whole country was in a state of alarm and actual insurrection. He had failed in his grand attempt to regain the power which had been wrested from his hands by a violent invasion of the privileges and independence of Parliament; and, although early in 1642 he had ordered five of his most daring opponents in the Commons—Pym, Hampden, Hazelrig, Hollis, and Strode—to be arrested for high treason, the Commons had refused to give them up. Goaded on and upbraided by the Queen as a coward, Charles, with a number of soldiers, went the next day to the House of Commons to seize his five great opponents, but before he entered the House they had escaped. All that night the streets of London

were filled with armed citizens ; and there was great excitement against the King, so much so that he fled from the metropolis and went to York, whilst his Queen fled to Holland.

Up to this time Lord Strange had not in any manner attended upon the King ; but now that accumulating difficulties had driven his Majesty to York, his lordship felt himself obliged, by his ties both of religion and loyalty, to offer his life and fortune to his King, and to serve him to the utmost of his abilities and power ; and he was one of the first to join the King. Whilst at York, Charles prepared for the struggle which was impending by ordering and inviting all men to bring him money, horses, and arms, his precepts being addressed, in many instances, to four or five persons of note in each county, on whose co-operation his Majesty could rely.

Lord Strange having been superseded in the lieutenancy of Lancashire by the Parliament, raised a body of troops there, and joined the King in the north. On the debate held by Charles and his council assembled, immediately after the arrival of Lord Strange, as to the most convenient place for erecting the royal standard, several towns were mentioned, each, in the particular opinion of the different speakers, possessing some great and decisive advantage over the rest : York, Chester, Nottingham, Shrewsbury, Oxford, and other places being proposed ; but Lord Strange having seriously weighed and considered the several arguments in favour of the respective places named, respectfully interposed to the following effect :—“ With humble submission to his Majesty and the right honourable council, he conceived Lancashire to be a convenient spot for that purpose, urging that it was the centre of the northern counties, to which the loyal parties of Yorkshire, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Cheshire, Shropshire, North Wales, and the county of Nottingham might have ready and easy access ; that he apprehended the inhabitants of that county, both gentry and commons, were well and loyally inclined to his Majesty’s just cause ; that the people were hardy, and made good soldiers ; and that he himself, though the unworthiest of his Majesty’s lieutenants, to the utmost extent of his estate, would contribute to his service. He promised three thousand foot and five hundred horse to be furnished and equipped at his own expense, and made no doubt whatever that, in three days, he should be able to enlist seven thousand more, to organise a force of ten thousand men

in Lancashire, which the drafts, from the adjoining counties, might speedily increase, so as to form a considerable army; and that with it he trusted his Majesty would be able to reach London before the rebels could effectually gather strength to oppose him."

It would be thought that such a proposal, so well intended, would have been well received; but such was not the case, for certain members of the council had other schemes to carry out, and looked coldly and suspiciously on the generous and noble-minded Lord Strange. Time, therefore, was demanded to consider the measure, and to resolve what should be done, as best suited to meet the urgencies of this momentous crisis. In a few days the council came to a decision, and it was agreed that the royal standard should be set up at Warrington, as being most convenient for quartering both horse and foot, and as affording a point well adapted for forming the centre of the northern forces.

All hope of reconciliation between Charles and the Parliament had ceased, and his Majesty now issued from York his famous commission of array to the respective counties; and Lord Strange was appointed lord-lieutenant of Lancashire, Cheshire, and North Wales, "to array, train, and muster the people."

According to *Hibbert's History of the Collegiate Church*, a meeting, convened by the sheriff, was held at Preston, and was attended by Lord Strange (the Royalist lord-lieutenant), Lord Molyneux, Sir George Middleton of Leighton, and Sir Edward Fitton of Gawsworth. The commission of array was announced by him as directed to Lord Strange himself, Sir George Middleton, Sir Alexander Radclyffe of Ordshall, Mr. Tyldesley (then resident at Mierscough), and Mr. William Farrington. The following particulars of the business transacted at this meeting will be read with interest:—"At a meeting held at Preston for the purpose of recruiting the King's forces and raising the necessary supplies for their support: In this assembly the Earl of Derby, 'Lord General of the County of Lancaster,' as he was styled, presided, and Sir John Girlington, the High Sheriff of the County; Alexander Rigby, Esq., of Burgh; Robert Holt, Roger Kirby, and William Farrington, Esqs., with many others, attended. A series of resolutions was adopted, the principal of which was that the sum of £8,700 should be raised by a rate in the county of Lancaster to be employed for the payment of 2,000 foot and 400 horse, and to provide magazines and ammunition

for the use and safety of the county. At the same meeting it was agreed that the following should be the pay of the Lancashire troops *per diem* :—

FOOT.		HORSE.		DRAGOONERES.	
	s. d.		s. d.		s. d.
Captain	10 0	Captain	16 0	Captain	12 0
Lieutenant	4 0	Lieutenant	8 0	Lieutenant	6 0
Ancient [Ensign].	3 0	Cornet	6 0	Cornet	4 0
Sergeant	1 6	Corporal	4 0	Sergeant	3 0
Drummer	1 3	Trumpeter	5 0	Corporal	2 6
Corporal	1 0	Private	2 6	Dragoonere	1 6
Private	0 9			Kettle Drum	2 6

After the meeting, here alluded to, held on the 20th June, and attended by about 5,000, the sheriff seized, in the King's name, the magazine at Preston, and Lord Strange, that at Liverpool.

In order to carry out the King's commission, Lord Strange, being at York, returned into Lancashire to prepare for the King's reception, and to influence favourably the county towards him. On his return to Lathom, his lordship determined upon securing the town of Manchester for the King, and on the 15th July, 1642, called upon the inhabitants to give up their magazine. The inhabitants declining to comply with the demand of Lord Strange, a skirmish ensued, in which it appears his lordship, after losing twenty-seven men, and killing twenty-seven of the inhabitants, was obliged to withdraw his forces. "This is the beginning of the civill warre," writes a private Manchester diarist of the time, "being the first stroke that hath been struck, and the first bullet that hath been shot ; but God knowes when the ending will be, or when the trouble of this kingdom will grow to a period. Many thousands I doubt will lose their lives, before that this kingdom will be settled in peace and unity, as it hath bin formerly ; for no man knoweth the cruelty of war, but those that have felt and tried it, for when that time cometh many a child will be fatherlesse, and many a poor wife husbandlesse. But God of his mercy stop the sword from going any further, and as it is but a little way drawn, so Lord, I beseech thee, sheath it again, before that it be drawn any further, that so by that means the walls of Syon may not be beaten down, nor destroyed."*

Two or three days after this, Lord Strange was invited by the Royalist party of Manchester to a public entertainment, at a Mr. Greene's, but whilst the party were in the banquetting-room, Captain Holcroft† and Captain

* *Civil War Tracts of Lancashire*, published by the Chetham Society.

† John Holcroft, of Holcroft, Esq., was a Parliamentary deputy-lieutenant and lieutenant-colonel, and heir of a knightly family, of which the Holcrofts of Vale Royal, in Cheshire, and those of Hurst, in Lancashire, were junior branches.

Birch* marched into the town with soldiers armed with pikes and muskets, "with their matches lighted and cockt, also a drum beating before them to assemble more companie (their muskets also were charged with bullets, as appeared by those which were taken from them) who presented themselves in the street in a warlike posture, and at that time two other companies in like manner assembling in two severall streets of the said towne environed his lordship," the result of which was that Lord Strange immediately quitted the repast to muster the four hundred troops by whom he was attended, and a skirmish took place in which a man named Richard Percival was killed by the Royalists.

Immediately after the skirmish at Manchester, Lord Strange mustered forces on the heaths near to Ormskirk, Preston, and Bury, at each of which places, Seacombe says, not less than 20,000 men appeared on his lordship's summoning, well armed with muskets, pikes, and other weapons: an army sufficient of itself to have decided the fortunes of the war; and a proof of the great popularity enjoyed by the noble Lord Strange, and of the confidence reposed in him as a leader. Besides the 60,000 men raised in Lancashire, his lordship was proceeding, in like manner, to call forth the forces in Cheshire and North Wales, of which he also held the lieutenancy, and where his popularity was as great as in his native county. His lordship's loyal resolve, however, seems to have been frustrated during his short absence from Court, jealousy and suspicion having already been active and scheming, and the King's ear thereby prejudicially affected. Unfortunately for the Royal cause, it was basely insinuated, and the King was partially induced to believe, that Lord Strange had other than loyal intentions in raising these numerous forces: It was suggested that his lordship was no favourer of the Court or the King's cause, but a popular man, and an ambitious malcontent; that the noisy musters he had made were "pre-indications of his ambitious designs;" that no one who knew his near alliance to the Crown, would think of trusting in his hands a power of such importance and magnitude; that there was abundant proof of the habitual treachery of members of his family in the minds of those who remembered that his ancestor, Thomas, the first Earl of Derby, although he appeared with the tyrant

* Thomas Birch, of Birch, Esq., in the parish of Manchester, was a deputy-lieutenant, a colonel of militia, governor of Liverpool, and M.P. for that borough. Seacombe informs us that Lord Strange trailed (Birch) under a *hay-cart* at Manchester, by which he got, even among his own party, the deserved epithet of "*Lora Derby's Carter*." This act of degradation probably took place on the 15th of July, 1642, when Birch, assisted by Holcroft, opposed Lord Strange's taking away the ammunition of the town.

Richard the Third, and gave his son George, Lord Strange, as a pledge of his loyalty, yet had turned the battle against him and put the crown on the head of Henry the Seventh; that his uncle Ferdinando had likewise boldly declared his pretensions to the Crown; and that Lady Strange (Charlotte de la Tremouille) was a Huguenot, brought up in the religion and principles of the Dutch: For all these weighty reasons it was not safe for the King to put himself too far into the hands of Lord Strange, or confide to his lordship too important a position. These contemptible and injurious insinuations, notwithstanding the King's favourable inclinations towards his lordship, so far operated on the minds of his Majesty's council, that they persuaded the easy and good-natured monarch to change his resolution, and, instead of setting up the royal standard at Warrington, as determined upon, to set it up at Nottingham; and Lord Strange was deprived of the lieutenancy of Cheshire and North Wales; and not only so, but Lord Rivers, newly created an earl, was joined in the commission with his lordship in the county of Lancaster. This malicious abuse of the patriotism and honour of Lord Strange had the natural effect of completely frustrating his lordship's first exertions in the royal cause, and of weakening the attachment of the more loyal inhabitants of the county to the King's service; and we are told that great numbers of the men of Lancashire, wounded at the disappointment, and disgusted at the treatment Lord Strange had received, returned to their homes, determined to stand neutral, while others joined themselves to the King's enemies, and actually aided them in taking the town of Manchester: and thus the boldness of the disaffected was increased. Lord Strange soon recovered from the effects of the ungracious treatment he had received from the King and his Majesty's advisers; and, notwithstanding all that had been said and done, his loyalty rose above any consideration of revenging himself by going over to the enemy, which would at once have been fatal to the King's cause in Lancashire. The King had none more loyally and disinterestedly devoted to his cause than was Lord Strange, who gave expression to his loyalty in the following terms:—"Let my master be happy though I be miserable; and if they consult well for him, I shall not be much concerned what becomes of me. My wife, my family, and country, are very dear to me; but if my prince and my religion be safe, I shall bless even my enemies who do well for them, though in my ruin;" and in due submission to his Majesty's

pleasure, Lord Strange dispatched a messenger to York, conveying a formal resignation of the Cheshire and Welsh lieutenancies, and beseeching the King to accept his resignation of the Lancashire lieutenancy also, rather than subject him to the "reproach and suspicion of a partner in that government," but resolving, at the same time, that though his enemies would not allow him to serve, they should never so far provoke him as to desert his Majesty, and that if he might not, according to his birth and rank, be permitted to fight for the King, he would never draw his sword against him. Shortly after receiving the communication of his lordship, it was resolved by the King and his advisers to remove Earl Rivers from the joint lieutenancy of Lancashire, and leave Lord Strange in sole command of the county.

After remaining about five months at York, the King departed, and the royal standard, as agreed upon, was erected at Nottingham, at six o'clock in the evening of the 25th of August. It was borne by the knight-marshal to an eminence overlooking the town, and exhibited the motto, "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's." His Majesty was present in person, attended by eight hundred horse and a number of militia. Drums beat and trumpets sounded, but the ceremony was anything but encouraging; and as troops did not muster in numbers as expected, his Majesty now began to see the danger of his position, and to reflect on the impolitic usage of the noble and gallant Lord Strange; and with the view of offering some appearance of reparation, the King addressed a letter to his lordship, written with his own hand, desiring that he would raise what forces he could in Lancashire, and join him. During these five months of delay and inaction, the position of affairs in the north had greatly changed, so that Lord Strange had to inform his Majesty that Manchester had been seized by the rebels, and that many of the country had joined the Parliamentary army, and that others, given to plunder and devastation, had declared for a loose and undutiful neutrality. Under these adverse circumstances he could not promise his Majesty the assistance which might have been promptly rendered a few months previously; but, notwithstanding all the discouragements he had met with, he would use all diligence to assemble such forces as he could command for his Majesty's assistance, and would issue his warrants accordingly. Lord Strange, therefore, true to his promise, raised, without delay, three regiments of foot and three troops of horse, being principally his own tenants and

others on his lordship's estates, whom he clothed and equipped at his own expense.

The attempt to assemble a Royalist army at Nottingham equal to the impending danger proving hopeless, the King proceeded at once with such forces as had rallied round his standard to Shrewsbury, and here he was joined by the loyal, but ill-used and maligned Lord Strange, and the force he had raised; but no sooner had Lord Strange arrived at headquarters, than orders were issued for the Lancashire forces raised by him to return, the King specially requesting his lordship to commission Colonel Sir Gilbert Gerard,* knight, to march down to Manchester, then in possession of the enemy, and invest the place. With the view of carrying out the royal order, Colonel Gerard took the command of Lord Strange's forces, and set out for Manchester; but the waters having become so much swollen by the late rains, the Colonel found great difficulty in taking ground for the intended attack on the town; and it was under these unfavourable circumstances that Lord Strange, at his Majesty's express command, was dispatched, with all haste, from head-quarters at Shrewsbury to Manchester, with strict orders to seize the town from the Parliamentarians, and make himself master of the place.

Whilst Lord Strange was thus loyally devoted and disinterestedly engaged in the service of the King, "An Impeachment for High Treason" was exhibited in Parliament against him; and was ordered by the "Lords in Parliament," on the 16th of September, 1642, to be printed and published. The following is the wording of this strange and remarkable document:—

"The Impeachment of James Lord Strange, and Son and Heire Apparent of William Earle of Darby, by the Commons assembled in Parliament, in the Name of themselves and all the Commons of England of High Treason.

"That the said James Lord Strange, to the intent and purpose to subvert the fundamentall Lawes and Government of this Kingdome of England, and the Rights and Liberties, and very being of Parliaments; And to set Sedition between the King and his People, did upon the fifteenth day of July in this present year of our Lord God, One thousand six hundred forty and two, at Manchester, in the county of Lancaster, and at several other times and places, actually, maliciously, rebelliously, and traiterously, summon and call together great

* Sir Gilbert Gerard was the younger brother of Sir Charles Gerard, of Halsall, county of Lancaster, and husband of Anne, Lady, Brereton, one of the co-heiresses of Sir Edward Fitton, of Gawsworth. He was governor of Worcester for Charles I., and was buried there.

numbers of his Majesties Subjects ; And incite, perswade, and encourage them to take up Armes, and levy warre against the King, Parliament, and Kingdome ; That the said James Lord Strange, in further prosecution of his aforesaid wicked, traiterous, and malicious purposes, Did upon the said fifteenth day of July, at Manchester aforesaid, and at severall other Times and Places, actually, maliteously, rebelliously, and traiterously, raise great Forces of Men and Horse ; and levied Warre against the King, Parliament, and Kingdome ; and in further prosecution of the aforesaid wicked, traiterous, and malicious purposes, the said James L. Strange, and divers other persons, whom he had drawne into his Party and Faction, Did also upon the said fifteenth day of July, at Manchester aforesaid, Maliciously and Traiterously, with Force and Armes, and in a hostile and warlike manner, kill, murther, and destroye Richard Parcivall of Kirkman-Shalme in the said County of Lancaster, Lynen Webster ; And did then and there, and at divers other times and places, in like hostile manner as aforesaid, shoot, stab, hurt, and wound divers others of his Majesties good subjects contrary to the Lawes and Peace of this Kingdome of England, and contrary to His Majesties Royal Crowne and Dignity ; and the said James Lord Strange, hath set Sedition between the King and His People, and now is in open and actuall Rebellion against the King, Parl^{mt}, and Kingdome : For which matters and things, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the House of Commons in Parliament assembled, Doe in the name of themselves, and of all the Commons of England, impeach the said James, Lord Strange, of High Treason ; And the said Commons by Protestation, saving to themselves the Liberty of Exhibiting at any time hereafter any other Accusation or Impeachment against the said Lord Strange, and also to replying of the Answers that the said James, L. Strange, shall make to the Premisses or any of them, or of any other Impeachment or Accusation that shall be exhibited by them, as the Cause, according to the Course and Proceedings of Parliament shall require, Doe pray that the said James, Lord Strange, may be put to answer all and every the Premisses, that such Proceedings, Examination, Tryalls, and Judgments, may be upon them, and every one of them had, and used, as shall be agreeable to Law and Justice.

“ Veneris, 16th September, 1642.

“ Whereas the Lord Strange having continued a long time, and still remaining in actuall Rebellion against his Majesty

and the Parl^{nt} is for the same impeached of High Treason by the House of Commons, in the name of themselves and all the Commons of England. It is therefore ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, That publication thereof be made in all Churches and Chappels, by the Curates and Church-Wardens thereof, and in all Markets and Townes, by the Constables and Officers of the Townes within the Counties of Lancaster and Chester, to the end that all his Majesties Loving Subjects may have notice thereof, lest they being deceived by the specious pretences made by the said Lord Strange, should assist him with men, money, munition, or any other provision, and so make themselves guilty of the like Treason and Rebellion; And all Sheriffs, and other his Majesties Subjects, are hereby required to doe their best endeavour for the apprehension of the said Lord, and the bringing him up to the Parliament, there to receive condigne punishment according to his demerits."

Lord Strange arrived before Manchester, on Saturday, the 24th of September, having under his command a force of two thousand foot and six hundred horse and eight or nine pieces of ordnance. Having besieged the town, two or three days after, his lordship summoned the inhabitants to surrender and lay down their arms and deliver them up, which they peremptorily and resolutely refused to do, and several skirmishes ensued. After making every preparation, and having fixed the hour for an attack on the town, on the night of the 30th of September, Lord Strange received, by express, two letters: the first announcing the death of his father, Earl William, who had died at Chester the day before, and his consequent elevation to the earldom of Derby; and the other commanding him to return forthwith with the whole of his force, then before Manchester, and rejoin the King and the Royal army at Shrewsbury, which was then threatened by the Earl of Essex, who was at the head of the Parliamentary army.

Notwithstanding the death of his father, and notwithstanding also the disappointment of not being allowed to take Manchester, and the cordial regret and dismay of his officers and men, Lord Strange (now the Earl of Derby) gave directions to raise the siege at five o'clock the next morning, the 1st of October, and in two days after rejoined the King at head-quarters.

This withdrawal of the Earl of Derby and his forces from before Manchester was considered by the Parliamentary party in Lancashire as a "visible manifestation of God's goodness

towards them ;” and the language of the Parliamentary soldiers, too, during the continuance of the siege was highly characteristic of the times, for, in the despatches it is stated that in the midst of the contests they exclaimed, “Go on, through the name of the Lord we shall destroy them ; they shall fall flat, but we do rise and stand up steadfastly by our God.” In consequence of this unexpected deliverance, a public thanksgiving was enjoined by the Parliament throughout the country, as an expression and token of general gratitude.

On arriving at head-quarters, Lord Derby had also arrived amongst his enemies and traducers ; and, owing to their malicious and envious insinuations, the King was so weak and credulous as to be influenced to remove the Earl of Derby from the command of the troops he had raised, and bestow it upon another, his Majesty excusing himself, for this act of palpable weakness, by the mean and shuffling pretence, that his lordship’s presence was necessary and highly desirable in Lancashire, where he might watch the progress of the rebels, and take and superintend measures to check and prevent the further growth of disloyalty in that part of the country. The Earl, a nobleman of great spirit, but of great command of temper, was so ruffled at this uncourteous usage and premeditated insult, as to have extreme difficulty in giving expression to his feelings without breaking through the established and recognised forms of etiquette. The injured Earl, however, did contrive to restrain himself whilst in the presence of his Sovereign, but, after recovering from the excitement, he thus addressed his Majesty :—“Sire, if I have deserved this indignity, I have also deserved to be hanged : if not, my honour and quality command me to beg your justice against those persons, who, in this insolent manner, have abused both your Majesty and myself : and if any man living (your Majesty excepted) shall dare to fix the least accusation upon me, that may tend to your disservice, I hope you will give me leave to pick the calumny from his lips with the point of my sword.”

The King, upon seeing that the noble Earl had begun to feel himself wounded, and was determined to defend his honour, had the sense and sagacity to perceive the dilemma he had fallen into ; and, with “a smooth countenance,” endeavoured to reconcile his lordship to circumstances ; and excused his own weak conduct by replying :—“My lord, my affairs are troubled, the rebels are making against me, and this is not a time to quarrel amongst ourselves : have patience,

and I will do you right." His lordship received the King's reply with a demeanour that proved the sincerity of his loyalty and entire self-control ; but his lordship's friends and followers were highly embittered at the treatment which had been shewn to him, and his soldiers refused to march or serve under any other commander ; but the Earl interposed his good offices, and composed the minds of his admirers, and prevailed upon his soldiers to obey the commands of the officers who had been appointed to command them.

The unhappy position of Lord Derby with the King and his council was eagerly caught at by the Parliamentary leaders, with the view of converting it to their own advantage, for, notwithstanding the ban of impeachment pending over his person, an attempt was made to secure his lordship's services to the Parliamentarians, who offered him power and command in their army, observing " that he could not but be very sensible of the indignity put upon him by the King's evil counsellors at Court : that those, his enemies, were the enemies of the nation : that they struck at religion and all good men, and would permit none but papists, or people popishly inclined, to be near his Majesty : that it was the whole intent of the Parliament to remove men of such desperate and pernicious principles from his person, and to secure the true Protestant religion : and that if his lordship would engage in that good cause, he should have command equal to his own greatness, or any of his ancestors."

The bait of the Parliamentarians, however, was not potent enough to captivate the Earl, or to damage his loyalty to the King ; and the only effect their communication had was that of raising the noble indignation of his lordship far more than the slights and indignities he had received at Court ; and he therefore peremptorily dismissed the officer who conveyed the despatch, saying, " Pray tell the gentlemen at Manchester, and let them tell the gentlemen at London, that when they have heard that I have turned traitor, then I will listen to their propositions ; but till then, if I receive any other papers of this nature it shall be at the peril of him who brings it."

The King was now at the head of a considerable force at Shrewsbury, and was moving towards London ; but the army of the Parliament, which had mustered at Northampton, under Essex, proceeded to intercept his progress. The contending armies met at Edgehill, in the southern part of Warwickshire, where the opening battle was fought on Sunday, the 23rd of October, the King in person commanding the

Cavaliers, Prince Rupert* the Royalist cavalry; and the Earl of Essex, the opposing or Parliamentary forces. The King had brought up his forces by Birmingham, where the manufacturers, we are told, refused to supply him with swords, but willingly supplied them to Parliamentarians, while the blacksmiths left their homes to avoid shoeing his horses. The King's troops occupied a position on the summit of the hill, which overlooks the vale of the Red Horse; and the Parliamentarians took ground in the fields between the base of the hill and the village of Keinton, about two miles distant. Charles was on the field in complete armour, and appears to have had the superiority in point of numbers. The day was fine, but cold. During the entire morning the two armies remained silently gazing upon each other, apparently oppressed with the responsibility of contending in actual battle. The artillery, however, began to play at about two o'clock in the afternoon, and the Royalists descended the hill to commence the struggle. The conflict was kept up till the evening, but the result was undecisive. Rupert, at the head of his cavalry, routed the horse opposed to him, and pressed on in pursuit to the village of Keinton; and, in the meantime, the Royalist infantry were severely punished by the Parliamentarians. Essex kept his ground during the night, and the Royalists retired to the summit of the hill; and the next day the forces separated without any attempt from either side to renew the conflict. The Parliamentarians lost the largest number of men; and the King, the greatest number of officers, including his commander-in-chief, the Earl of Lindsay. The total slain on both sides is estimated at about 1,500.

On the Earl of Derby's arrival in Lancashire, he found that the Parliamentarians had garrisoned the towns of Lancaster and Preston, and that the whole country was nearly lost to the Royal cause. Under these discouraging circumstances, being entirely divested of both arms and ammunition, and finding himself unable to resist the encroachments of the enemy, his first attention was directed to the fortifying of his house at Lathom, and the securing therein, as secretly as possible, of such men and arms as he could muster. In the space of about a month after his return into Lancashire, he had succeeded in organising a good troop of horse, and two

* Prince Rupert was born December, 1619. His mother, Elizabeth, eldest daughter of James I. of England, married Frederick V., elector palatine, who was banished and deprived of his estates in consequence of his unsuccessful attempt to seat himself upon the throne of Bohemia. Rupert was an exile from youth, and received little education. He had a taste for military pursuits, and offered his services to Charles I., who put him in command of a regiment of cavalry.

companies of foot ; and with these, on receiving information that three captains of the enemy's forces had advanced to Houghton Common, near Hindley, he set out against them, and on the 16th of December, after a hot engagement of about half an hour's duration, in which the magazine of the Presbyterians blew up, he completely routed the whole, taking, according to the enemy's own admission, the three captains and about 160 soldiers prisoners, one of the captains being Captain Venables, afterwards governor of Chester, who distinguished himself in the Irish war, and served, with Admiral Penn, as governor of the forces sent by Oliver Cromwell against Hispaniola, or San Domingo, and Jamaica. By this defeat of the Parliamentarians, Lord Derby not only procured a very considerable addition of arms, but struck such a terror in the county as gained for his lordship much reputation, and great numbers flocked to him as their leader, and he soon found himself in a position to compel the enemy to keep within their garrisons. One of the enemy, in his *Lancashire's Valley of Achor*, published in 1643, in speaking of this victory gained by Lord Derby, represents it as "the first and fowlest blow God gave us in this kinde in the County ; an humbling blow and lasting warning : To this day we halt of this blow, though most of our Captains and soldiers be released."

After the battle at Edgehill the King moved his army to Oxford, and shortly afterwards marched to Brainsford, about seven miles from London, where a sharp skirmish took place, which threw the metropolis into alarm ; but formidable preparations having been made to prevent a further advance of the Royalists, the King returned to Oxford, where he took up his winter quarters, in the meantime some ineffective attempts being made to negotiate an accommodation.

In the opening of the year 1643, Sir Thomas Fairfax, "the hero of the commonwealth," who had been in Yorkshire, made his appearance at Manchester, where the commencement of the campaign in Lancashire for the year was decided upon, and, on the 10th of February, Sir John Seaton, a Scotch knight, and a major-general of the Parliamentary forces, was dispatched from Manchester at the head of a numerous body of troops, for the purpose of attacking Preston, then garrisoned by the King's troops. Taking the route of Bolton and Blackburn, at each of these places his forces were considerably augmented. Sir John, with his forces thus increased, and including about 2,000 clubmen, arrived before Preston on the night of the 12th, and on the following day

an attack was made with so much vigour and promptitude that the place was carried after a desperate resistance of little more than two hours.

About this time Lord Molyneux, who had fought at Edgehill on the side of the King, was dispatched from headquarters into Lancashire to recruit his regiment, which had been greatly reduced in numbers in the actions at Edgehill and Brainsford, and, on his arrival, the Earl of Derby applied to him to unite their forces, so that a joint attack might be made on the garrisons which had so long and so effectually annoyed the country, and impeded the march of his Majesty's troops. This proposition was agreed to, and, with their joint forces, the Earl of Derby and Lord Molyneux marched from Lathom House and Wigan, on Monday night, the 13th March, with 600 foot and 400 horse, and quartered on Tuesday night at Kirkham, where, we are told, "the countrie people, to the number of 3,000, being wearied with the insolence and tyrannie of the rebels, came with great cheerfulness unto him:" that the following day the Earl "came within four miles of Lancaster, intending to take from the rebels those pieces of ordnance which they before had seized on from a Spanish ship, and the next day was met by Sir John Girlington and Colonell Tildesley with 600 men, whereof 300 were musketeers, and so went to Lancaster." Early on Saturday morning, the town, being well fortified and manned with 600 musketeers under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Holcroft, Sergeant-Major Sparrow, and Sergeant-Major Heywood, was summoned to surrender; which being refused, after two hours' hot fighting, in a second assault, the Earl of Derby forced the moat, and drove the enemy into the Castle. The soldiers appear to have been a little backward in the assault, which being observed by the Earl, he took a half-pike in his hand, and called out to them, "Follow me," when he was instantly joined by a number of gentlemen volunteers, and then all the soldiers followed and entered the town, the Earl having on his side about twenty soldiers wounded. Captain Shuttleworth, a member of the House of Commons, and many other Parliamentarians were killed at the Castle gate, and the mayor and several of the townsmen were taken prisoners. After demolishing the works, and being about to lay siege to the Castle, the Earl of Derby was apprized that Sir John Seaton was marching upon him from Preston with 1,500 musketeers and some troops of horse, when he drew up his forces "into battallia," forced the enemy, and in the mean-

time, whilst they expected to be charged, marched on towards Preston, where he arrived early on the morning of the 21st of March, when he sent a summons to the mayor, requiring him to surrender the town to the King's use; which being refused, the Earl ordered the town to be assaulted at three points by Captain Chisenhall, Captain Radcliffe, and Captain Rawstorne, which took place the next day, at about ten o'clock at night. Captain Chisenhall's party was the first to enter, who being supported by the reserve, the Earl of Derby became master of the place after about two hours' hot fighting, with the loss of ten or twelve men only. The *Mercurius Aulicus*, of March 26—April 2, 1643, states that in the taking of Preston there were "killed in the place 80 of the rebels, whereof Captain Ashworth and Captain Will. Shuttleworth were the chief, and about 3 or 400 prisoners taken, of which Captain Standish was one, together with one brass piece of ordnance. That after the Towne was taken, his lordship had especial care to preserve the place, and only gave command that the houses of those who had betrayed the Towne before should be responsall [responsible] to his Majestie for their Master's treason, whose goods his Lordship ordered to be seized and equally divided among the soldiers. That the next morning, being March 22, the whole Country came in with apparent joy, and made signal affections of their good affections to his Majestie, flinging up their hats, and shouting out, '*God blesse the King and the Earle of Derby.*' And finally, to make up the summe, it was advertised also in the same *Expresse*, that the same day Sergeant-Major *Brewyer*, who commanded his Lordship's regiment of horse, did with a troope of his defeat two troopes of dragoones, being 140 in the totall, under the command of Captain *Norris*, taking the Captaine himself prisoner, together with 40 of his souldiers, and having killed no less than fifty in the very place. So as now the Earle hath abundance of ammunition, the want whereof did hinder his lordship's good proceedings against the Rebells."

After refreshing his soldiers, Lord Derby proposed to move towards Manchester, then the stronghold of the Parliamentary force in the county, before the enemy had time to recover from the consternation which these rapid successes had excited. The proposal at first met with some slight opposition, but, after a short debate, was finally determined upon, and the united forces advanced on the night of the 26th of March as far as Chorley, the Earl of Derby declaring that he would, if properly supported, either reduce the town, or lay his bones

before it! But the evil destiny of the King here again prevailed, and before two o'clock in the morning a despatch arrived with his Majesty's command that Lord Molyneux should fill up his broken companies from the Earl of Derby's forces, and with his regiment, thus recruited, return south to Oxford; and this order, notwithstanding Lord Derby's earnest entreaty for but four days' delay, that something might be attempted upon Manchester, was obeyed by Lord Molyneux and his officers, who produced their commission to make up their broken companies: and thus the little victorious army was separated, leaving Lord Derby, for the third time, to make good his retreat to Lathom as best he could.

The Parliamentarians finding that the Earl of Derby and Lord Molyneux were separated, and no longer acted in concert, now re-united their scattered divisions under the command of Sir John Seaton, who, having refreshed his army at Preston, marched to the banks of the Douglas,* for the purpose

* It was on the banks of the Douglas that the second, third, fourth, and fifth battles of the renowned King Arthur are supposed to have been fought, in the early part of the sixth century. Whitaker, in his *Saxon History of Manchester*, observes that, "the name of the river concurs with the tradition concerning Arthur, and three battles proved the notice true. On the traditionary scene of his engagement remained, till the year 1770, a considerable British barrow, popularly denominated Hasty-Knoll. It was originally a vast collection of small stones taken from the bed of the Douglas: and great quantities had been successively carried away by the neighbouring inhabitants. Many fragments of iron had been also occasionally discovered in it, together with the remains of those military weapons which the Britons interred with their heroes at death. On finally levelling the barrow, there was found a cavity, in the hungry gravel immediately under the stones, about seven feet in length, the evident grave of a British officer, and all filled with the loose and blackish earth of his perished remains. At another place, near Wigan, was discovered, about the year 1741, a large collection of horse and human bones, and an amazing quantity of horse shoes, scattered over a large extent of ground—an evidence of some important battle on the spot. The very appellation of Wigan is a standing memorial of more than one battle at the place; *Wig* signifying, in Saxon, a fight, and *Wig-en* being its plural. According to tradition, the first battle fought near Blackrode was uncommonly bloody, and the Douglas was crimsoned with blood to Wigan. Tradition and remains concur to evince the fact, that a second battle was fought near Wigan-lane many ages before the encounter in the Civil Wars. And credulity, deeply impressed with the story, not unfrequently fancies, to the present period, that it sees warriors habited in strange dresses, and hovering about the scene of slaughter. The defeated Saxons appear to have crossed the hill of Wigan, where another engagement or engagements ensued; and in forming the canal there, about the year 1735, the workmen discovered evident indications of a considerable battle on the ground. All along the course of the channel from the termination of the Dock to the point of Pool-bridge, from forty to fifty rods in length, and seven or eight yards in breadth, they found the ground every where containing the remains of men and horses. In making the excavations, a large old spur carrying a stem four or five inches in length, and a rowel as large as a half-crown, was dug up; and five or six hundred-weight of horse-shoes were collected. The point of land on the south side of the Douglas, which lies immediately fronting the scene of the last engagement, is now denominated the Parson's meadow; and tradition very largely reports a battle to have been fought in it. To attack the Saxons in this situation was a bold effort; but victory heightens the courage and increases the power of an army. The attack was made: it could not be sustained. The dispirited Saxons fell before the superior bravery and dauntless spirit of the Britons. These four battles were fought upon the river Douglas, and in the region Linuis. * * * * From its appellation of Linuis, or the Lake, it seems to have assumed the denomination from the Mere of Marton, which was once the most considerable object" within the district, "and was traversed by the Romans in canoes of a single tree."—Camden seems to think it probable that the ancient name of Wigan was Wi-big-gin, of which name, he says, he has nothing to observe, but that *Biggin* is a Iancea-hire word for houses.—A third opinion of the original name of the town is, that as in all the charters, as well as in the *Valor Beneficiorum*, it is called Wygan, or Wyggan, the name is to be traced to the English *Wye*—a place of safety, and *gan* to go to.

of attacking Wigan, then newly garrisoned for the King by the Earl of Derby, and placed under the command of Major-General Blair. Sir John called upon the garrison to surrender the town into his hands, but this they refused to do; whereupon his musketeers and clubmen fell upon the town with so much resolution that the place was carried after a gallant resistance, and plundered by the Parliamentarians, even to the church plate, which one Tildesley, a Puritan, carried about hanging on his person like the spoils and plunder of a Pagan idol. The account given of the reduction of Wigan in Vicars' *Parliamentary Chronicle*, part i, 297, states that "the loss of treasure" sustained by the Royalists at Wigan was "to the amount of £20,000,"—a pretty conclusive proof of the superior numbers of the Parliamentarians and of their propensity for pillage.

Halsall, in his "Brief Journal of the Siege of Lathom House," (Ashmolean copy), observes somewhat sarcastically, that Wigan, "with little service, was either given or lost by Blair, the Scotchman."* It is, however, contended by a more recent historian that "Blair does not merit this contemptuous mention," as he was left with a very inadequate force at Wigan, whilst Lord Derby's best troops, with the exception of scanty garrisons placed in the remote castles of Hornby and Thursland, were marched into Yorkshire, and others had been drafted into the force under Lord Molyneux to strengthen the Royalist army at head-quarters at Oxford. In consequence of this dividing and scattering of the Lancashire forces, it is said that "Seaton immediately detached a party (anxious to recommend themselves to the Lord, yet not despising the more tangible benefits which the 'plundrage' of a wealthy town might afford) against Wigan." The same writer also observes that, "when the mighty triumph of the Parliamentary party is examined there will be little cause for the irritation Halsall manifests," as the Parliamentary troops "possessed themselves of the town for a few hours only, and that after a severe conflict. The return of night brought back the Royalists, who quietly took possession of what the enemy had spared," when they (the Parliamentarians), flushed with victory and laden with spoil, set out for Warrington, where, as we shall have to notice presently, the Earl of Derby defeated both them and Sir William Brereton's forces with great slaughter.

* Major-General Alexander Blair was imprisoned at London, for assisting in Gerard's conspiracy, as also was Humphrey Baggerley, the person who attended the Earl of Derby at his execution, and whose affecting narrative will be found in a subsequent part of this volume.

Owing to the unexpected disaster at Wigan, in the absence of the Earl of Derby, who was actively engaged in recruiting and arming fresh troops in other parts of the county, the Earl lost no time in giving orders and taking steps to convert Lathom House into a garrison ; and it may not be considered out of place here to give a few particulars respecting

LATHOM HOUSE

as it then stood, in order that the reader may have some conception of its dimensions and importance.

Of the earlier mansion at Lathom, the seat of the Lathoms, which passed into the Stanley family by the marriage of Isabel de Lathom with Sir John Stanley, the ancestor of the Earls of Derby, we have no account. It is, however, certain that previously to 1496 one of those rude wooden mansions, common to that period, did exist, from whose portals many a noble train had passed for the tournament or the battle. In 1496 the ancient pile made way for a more celebrated successor, within which, in the words of the old poem, might be "lodged kyngys three." Whilst Thomas Lord Stanley, who became the first Earl of Derby, was absent assisting Henry VII., ballad lore tells us Lathom House was destroyed, and that, on his return, he rebuilt it :—

" When place, and weete, and wisdom call'd
Home this Earle to rest,
He viewed his ancient seat, and saw
The ruins of his nest,
And pulled it down, and from the ground
New builded Lathom Hall,
So spacious that it can receive
Two kings, their trains and all."

This was the later mansion, the fortress then existing and being garrisoned by James, the seventh Earl of Derby, and was the same which is said to have furnished Henry VII., who visited his father-in-law, Earl Thomas, shortly after its erection, with the first ideas of his new palace at Richmond ; and it is generally supposed that its principal gateway is represented in carvings attached to the stall of James Stanley, Bishop of Ely, in the Collegiate Church of Manchester, of which he was warden ; and there can be little doubt as to the carving referring to *Lathom House* (and most probably to the Hall now alluded to) from the circumstance of the Stanley legend being represented in a tree, and a *rebus* of masons or stone-cutters (termed *Lathom*i and *Latomi*, in mediæval Latin) approaching the gateway below, which has two towers and machicolated battlements. The form of Lathom House, previously to the siege, is, however, thus described :—"In the

centre was a lofty tower, called the Eagles ; it had two courts, for mention is made of a strong and high gateway before the first. The whole was surrounded with a wall two yards thick, flanked by nine towers, and this again guarded a moat eight yards wide and two deep." Weber, in his ballad of *Flodden Field*, represents the "bright bower of Lathom" as having "nine towers on high," and "nine in the utter walls," which representation gives the idea of a moated outer court, with a turreted gateway, and other towers in the walled circuit, and, within this enclosure, an embattled mansion, also crowned with turrets, with the Eagle Tower rising majestically above all the rest, forming an inner court.

We may presume that the account of the situation and description given of Lathom House by Bishop Rutter,* who was resident at Lathom during both sieges, and was the Earl of Derby's chaplain, will be a faithful picture of the mansion. The bishop says :—"Lathom House stands upon a flat, upon a moorish, springy, and spumous ground, and was encompassed with a strong wall of two yards thick ; upon the walls were nine towers, flanking each other, and in every tower were six pieces of ordnance, that played three one way, and three the other. Without the wall was a moat eight yards wide, and two yards deep ; upon the back of the moat, between the wall and the graff, was a strong row of palisadoes around : beside all these there was a high strong tower, called the Eagle Tower, in the midst of the house surrounding all the rest ; and the gate-way was also two high and strong buildings, with a strong tower on each side of it ; and in the entrance to the first court, upon the tops of these towers, were placed the best and choicest marksmen, who usually attended the Earle in his sports, as huntsmen, keepers, fowlers, and the like, who continually kept watch with screwed guns and long fowling-pieces upon those towers to the great annoyance and loss of the enemy, especially of their commanders, who were frequently killed in their trenches, or as they came or went to

* Samuel Rutter, D.D., the chaplain and confidential friend of the Earl of Derby, was the tutor of Charles, Lord Strange, the eighth Earl, and the biographer of the family. At Knowsley there is a portrait of him as archdeacon of Man. His figure is portly, and his appearance clerical. He wears a dark doublet, his hair is thin, and he has a contemplative cast of countenance, grave, reverent, and pleasing. He was probably sent by some member of the Stanley family to Westminster School, elected thence in 1623 to Christ Church, Oxford, appointed prebendary of Lichfield in 1660, archdeacon and afterwards bishop of Sodor and Man. He died at the Isle of Man in 1663.—His grandfather was John Rutter, known in the time of Earl Henry as the "Burscough Miller," and is supposed to have descended from the Rutters of Kingsley, a family of inferior although at one time of heraldic rank in Cheshire. In the "Household Account" of Earl Henry, for 1589, under the date of "New Park, xi October," we meet with the following entry :—"On Thursdaie the sixth of October John Rutter mylner at Burscough mylnes had meate from New P'ke by my Lo. commandment."

and from them.* Besides all that is said hitherto of the walls, towers, and moat, there is something so particular and romantic in the general situation of this house, as if Nature herself had formed it for a stronghold or place of security; for before the house, to the south and south-west is a rising ground so near as to overlook the top of it, from which it falls so quick that nothing planted against it on those sides can touch it further than the front wall; and on the north and east sides there is another rising ground, even to the edge of the moat, and then falls away so quick that you can scarce, at the distance of a carbine shot, see the house over that height, so that all batteries placed there are so far below it as to be of little service against it (of which more hereafter;) only let us observe, by the way, that the uncommon situation of it may be compared to the palm of a man's hand; flat in the middle, and covered with a rising ground about it." The names of seven of the towers, as given by Seacombe, are, the Eagle Tower, the Tower of Madness, the Tower at the Kitchen Bridge, the little Tower next it, the next Tower to that in the corner, the Chapel Tower, and the Private Tower. The situation of the mansion is supposed to have been between the north-east offices of the present house and the kitchen-garden.

A residence of considerable dimensions at this time stood in the New Park, about half a mile from Lathom House, which was pulled down in the early part of the last century. This building also appears to have been a castellated mansion, surrounded by a moat which now remains, by the side of which lies a long piece of stone, said to be about three hundred years old, as shewn by some marks curiously inscribed upon it; and, near this moat, old people tell us, once stood a dove-house, about five yards square, in which probably birds were reared when falconry was in vogue. Part of the brick wall of a garden, the walks of which appear to have been tastefully laid out, still remains; and here also may be found the garden columbine growing wild, which indicates former cultivation. This house is supposed to have been the residence of the steward, as noticed in Halsall's diary, and was called "Horton," "Alton," or "Halton Castle." From this mansion, no doubt, the Halton Castle public-house, in the adjacent hamlet of Westhead, takes its name; and it is much to be regretted that the artist who executed the present sign did not avail himself of the copy of its predecessor, which has

* The casualties here alluded to occurred during the siege, which remains to be noticed.

been so thoughtlessly rendered doubly invisible by dust and neglect, and the usurpation of the present "ideal castle," by which it is also hid from view.

The Golforden, a running brook or stream, mentioned by Leland as being near Lathom House, though not now generally known, and by some confounded with the Spa and the Tawd, still has an existence ; but the water which formerly took its course down the Golforden having been turned in various directions, very little can be seen of this ancient brook outside Lathom Park until the various water-courses join at the Park-wall. The Golforden may now be traced from the Firs for about three-quarters of a mile towards the south front of the present Lathom House. At times, even to the recollection of old people now living, when at its full height, in crossing the lane, now running between the Firs and the Park, generally known as the Plough Lane, about a quarter of a mile west of the Spa-brook Bridge, it flowed or washed down to the Spa, that portion of the lane being called, even to the present day, "The Wash-way ;" and a small stone farm-house, on the south side of the road, "Wash-way House." The Golforden, along whose banks knights and ladies have a thousand times made resort, hearkening to stories as romantic and varied as those of Boccaccio, runs from the Firs,* on Lathom Moss, and through land, belonging to the Stand Farm, up to Lathom Park-wall, through which it runs into the Park, and then, taking an easterly direction, coalesces with the Spa and flows into the Tawd, which, in its turn, runs into the Douglas.

In 1670, Dr. Borlase published a book, dedicated to Charles, Earl of Derby, in which are set forth the virtues of the "Lathom Spa," where formerly "the pilgrim and the lazar devoutly cooled their parched lips," which he describes as a medicinal well, commonly called "Maudlen Well," a spring in one corner of the kitchen garden of the "Spa Farm," which, a few years back, was covered over, and a drain laid from it. The doctor opined that time, the mother of experience, would have recommended the medicinal properties of this well to posterity, but time seems to have entirely disappointed the doctor's anticipations.

Lathom House had long enjoyed a high reputation for magnificence and hospitality, assuming, in these respects, up to the time of the breaking out of the Civil War, the attitude of a royal court in the northern part of the kingdom ; and the family were regarded with such veneration and esteem,

* This wood was cut down and cleared about seven years ago, and is now under cultivation.

that the following harmless inversion was as familiar "as household words :"—"God save the Earl of Derby and the King ;" the general feeling and opinion being, "love to their lord, and loyalty to their prince."

Having given the foregoing particulars respecting the site and character of the Earl of Derby's mansion at Lathom, we must now proceed to notice that after the call of Lord Molyneux* to rejoin the King at Oxford, the Earl of Derby did not retire to Lathom House merely for the purpose of garrisoning the house for its defence and hiding himself within its walls, for shortly after, being the 5th of April, we find him at Warrington, where he gained a double victory over Sir William Brereton and the soldiers who had so recently plundered Wigan, which is noticed as follows in the *Mercurius Aulicus* :—"Saturday, April 8.—The first news of this day was of a double defeate given by the Earle of Derby to Sir William Brereton, at Warrington in Lancashire, a towne very near the borders of Cheshire, Brereton coming thither upon an hope of hindering the Earle's proceedings, who was going with part of his forces towards Manchester. But Brereton being well beaten at the first onset, with the loss of many of his men and some of his colours, had no minde to go away till he had perfected the Earle's victorie and his own overthrow, and therefore drew into the field againe with the accession of some new forces from Manchester, to play double or quits. Which being perceived by the Earle of Derby, hee purposely held off from accepting the battaile till the duske of the evening, and then sent some of his own men under Brereton's colours (the colours captured by the Earl the same day) to make towards them ; who being taken and indeed mistaken for their own party, were suffered to joyne with them or come very neare them upon the one side ; and then the Earle charging very hotly upon the other,

* Sir Richard Molyneux of Maryborough, the third baronet and second viscount Molyneux, succeeded his father when very young, in 1632. The family came over with William the Conqueror, and the name of William de Molines occurs the 18th in order on the roll of Battel Abbey. A few years afterwards, this William appears to have been seated at Sefton in Lancashire. At the breaking out of the Civil War, Lord Molyneux was a mere youth. He was present at the siege of Manchester, in September, 1642, and was in the battle of Edgehill. In 1648 the two Houses of Parliament made an order "That no prisoners of quality should any more be brought to London ; because, as Lord Molyneux, who was discovered and taken at Islington, near London, had been brought thither, the apprentices having risen, followed the coach, and were like to have rescued him from the guards." Lord Molyneux, too, was at Worcester with Charles II. ; and escaping from thence he died in 1651. He married the Lady Frances Seymour, daughter of William, Marquis of Hertford, afterwards Duke of Somerset, but having no issue, he was succeeded in his titles and estates by his brother Caryl, who was also a zealous Royalist, and attended King Charles I. at Oxford, and Charles II. at Worcester. In the treaty of Hampton Court, Lord Caryl Molyneux was excepted from pardon, and with great difficulty, after a lapse of many years, allowed to compound for his estates in the sum of \$1140, which he paid chiefly in land.

they made a great impression on both sides, and having thus caught them in a trapp, defeated them with greater slaughter and little labour. But for the particulars of this peece of service, how many of the rebels were taken prisoners, how many slain, and with what loss on the King's side, is not yet made knowne."

In *Lancashire's Valley of Achor*, written by a Parliamentarian, the victory gained by the Earl of Derby over Sir William Brereton at Warrington is thus bewailed:—"In great unpreparednesse, in debt for Wigan, in neglect of meanes of reconciliation, in disorder and confidence of our souldiers, we assaulted *Warrington* the fifth day of *April*, about four of the clock, till the night tooke us off. Thither we came to leave our dead, to distresse the affected in the Towne, to shame our courage, and in all to suffer the punishment of former miscarriages, wherein *Cheshire* deeply shared with us. Now we had the greatest strength abroad, partly our own, and partly borrowed: But God delighted not in the strength of the horse, he taketh not pleasure in the legs of a man; the Lord taketh pleasure in them that fear him, in those that hope in his mercy, Psal. 147, 10-11. *Wigan* (though impregnable) proved easie; *Warrington* (thought easie) proved now impregnable: This seasonable check chode us to duty to publike thanksgivings for *Wigan*-mercy the eleventh of *April*; to humiliation under *Warrington*-displeasure, the thirteenth of *April*."*

The success which had attended the Earl of Derby at Warrington was followed by a defeat at Whalley on the 20th of April, from which date the tide appears to have set in against his lordship. In "A True Relation" of the struggle at Whalley we are told to believe that "Eleven Troopes of horse, 700 foot, and infinite of clubmen, in all conceived to be 5000," fled before 500 Parliamentarians from Ribchester to

* Shortly after the success of the Earl of Derby at Warrington, the town was again assailed by Colonel Ashton on Easter Monday, when the Royalists, under the command of Colonel Norris, the governor of Warrington, fled to the church and steeple, where they boldly and resolutely defended themselves for five days. Burghall, in his *Providence Improved*, MS. copy in Cole's collection in the British Museum, says that the Earl of Derby was present at the siege, and on perceiving that the Parliamentarians were on the point of taking the place "he set the middle of the town on fire, protesting that he would burn it all ere they should have it," in consequence of which the Parliament forces retired, "to save it from utter destruction." Early in the month of June, the same year (1643) the Parliamentarians marched once more against Warrington, when it was stormed and carried, the Royalists losing 600 prisoners and eight pieces of cannon.—See *Fairfax's Memoirs*.—From *Halsall's Diary of the Siege of Lathom House*, it was during the absence of the Earl of Derby on his visit to York, whither he had been pressed "to repair to the Queen in person, to hasten the promised supplies, when (after a fortnight's attendance) fell out that unfortunate surprise of the Lord Goring in Wakefield, which utterly disabled her Majesty to spare him any relief, which the governor of Warrington (Colonel Norris) understanding, after five days' siege, gave up the town (the greatest key to the county) to the enemy, and all his lordship's forces, then with the Lord Molyneux and Colonel Tyldesley, marched down to York."

Whalley. The same writer observes :—"The Earl of Derby and the rest of them were in the Abbey, much ado we had to keep our Souldiers back, the enemy (who were ten for one of us) discharged his Cannon five times, but hurt not a man of us, (blessed be our good God) he drew into a body, we being out of order ran into hedges, played upon them with our muskets, and routed their foot, which fled over the water, their horse still facing us, our men still pursued them to Lango-green, where Captain Ashton and myselfe with much ado caused our first men to stay till more came up, then our men shot ; their horse fled ; then all our horse came up and pursued them through Salisbury Park, and to Ribchester, and most of their great ones had some touch, or some narrow escape, as themselves report. And having thus driven them out of the hundred, we retreated to Padiham, where having a good Minister, some hours were spent in thanksgiving for this great deliverance, and be assured it is to be taken (next the first great bout at Manchester) the greatest deliverance we have had." It must not be omitted that this victory gained over the Earl was accompanied by disappointments consequent on a portion of his troops being ordered southwards, instead of joining in the desired attack on Manchester, where he hoped to have obtained a victory to crown the success achieved at Preston and Lancaster.

The town of Wigan at this time was held for the Earl of Derby by Colonel Tyldesley ; and after the disaster which attended the Royalists at Whalley, Colonel Ashton moved on to Wigan, and in Vicars' *Chronicle*, May, 1643, we meet with the following account (with the usual amount of flourishes peculiar to the Parliamentary journalists and writers) of the retreat of the Royalists from Wigan on the 22nd of April, 1643 :—"Certain intelligence came again out of Lancashire that the noble and renowned Manchesterians under the command of the Collonel Ashton, with about 22 hundred horse and foot, marched towards Wiggon, where Collonel Tilsley commanded for the Earl of Derby with 9 troops of horse and 700 foot. But when brave and victorious Collonel Ashton appeared before the Town, the enemies were immediately smitten with astonishment of heart, durst not stand to it, but fled away from thence to Lathom, leaving Wiggon to their possession : whereupon the noble Collonel demolisht all the outworks and fortifications, burnt the new gates and posts that had been set up, took an oath of the townsmen never to bear arms against the King and Parliament, and then this brave

Collonel pursued the enemy in their flight to Lathom, whereupon the Earl of Derby and his company fled thence also to a town called Prescott, thinking there to have drawn in the country to him, but the brave Manchesterians pursued them close, thither also, and the enemy was forced to flee back to Lathom. But Collonel Ashton still pursued them, and forced them thence again, and made them flee to Preston, whither also the Manchester forces, giving neither themselves nor their enemies any rest, followed them close, still driving the Earl thence also, and made him flee either to Hornbie Castle, or else to the Queen in the North, his forces being driven at least eight miles from Preston, and pursued by Collonel Ashton, whose forces much increased by these his so prosperous proceedings, and many of the Earl's soldiers coming in willingly and cheerfully to serve him. The Earle of Derby shortly after sent to Collonel Ashton to desire him not to fire his house at Lathom, promising him £300 if he would spare it. But the noble Collonel sent him word that he scorned his money or the firing of his house, and desired nothing more of him than to meet with him, and to give him battell; but he, as I said, ran quite away out of the countie, and durst not stay to accept that motion."

From the foregoing it would seem that Colonel Ashton's forces had increased in the short space of two days from 500 to 2,200 horse and foot, and that consequently his force would be double if not treble the strength of the Royalists under the command of the Earl of Derby; so that, even granting the "certain intelligence," as already given, to be true, it is clear the Earl was placed under very unequal and disadvantageous circumstances, of which Colonel Ashton appears to have taken the advantage, if the narrator of his exploits does him justice. So far as the "intelligence" affects the cause of the movements of the Earl of Derby towards the Queen, the journalist certainly misinforms us. It has been already stated that the King then had his head-quarters at Oxford; and it is now to be observed that the Queen, on the 22nd of February, 1643, landed at Burlington from Holland, bringing stores, officers, and soldiers, in four vessels, and was escorted to York by the Earl of Newcastle, and immediately began to influence the councils of the King, dissuading him from coming to any compromise, and expressing displeasure that any negotiations had been commenced in her absence.

At this time the Earl of Derby was at Lathom, actively engaged in suggesting and maturing plans to advance his

Majesty's service, when he received an express from the King, stating that the enemy, favoured by a confederacy within, had formed the project of seizing the Isle of Man, and that without cautious and speedy measures, and the Earl's own personal attendance, the island was in danger of being lost. The King, moreover, thanked his lordship for his many good and signal services in England, and desired him to hasten to his little dominion in order to secure its safety. Upon reading these despatches, his lordship was overcome with grief and vexation, and, addressing his Countess with more than ordinary quickness and concern, said, "My heart, my enemies have now done their will, having prevailed with his Majesty to order me to the Isle of Man as a softer banishment from his presence and their malice."

It being known in Lancashire that the Queen was at York with a great force, the Earl was solicited and pressed by the gentry in Lancashire to visit her Majesty there for the purpose of requesting her aid. "It was desired," writes his lordship to his son, Charles, Lord Strange, "by all the gentrie that I would go to the Queene, representing their necessities, which I did, leaving some considerable forces in Lancashire.—That same time a report was got of some Scots, intending to assist the pretended Parliament of England, that they would land in the north, and by their way do their endeavour to get the Isle of Man, which doubtless had been a great inconvenience to his Majesties affairs for many reasons."—See *Peck's Desiderata*. Being anxious to do all in his power to retain Lancashire to the King's cause, and to encourage the hopes of the Lancashire Royalist gentlemen, he proceeded to York to represent to the Queen the imperious necessity of some speedy relief being granted to the Royalists in Lancashire, who had been called upon to contribute so largely to the strength of the King's forces to the great detriment of their own local position; and to confer with her on the best measures to be adopted for the safety of the county and the royal cause. In his absence at York, the reduction of all Lancashire took place, except Lathom, Greenhaugh, Hornby, and Thurland (the two last of which fell before the 21st of June), and the Queen being prevented from granting the necessary and expected assistance for Lancashire in consequence of the Earl of Newcastle's misfortunes in the battle at Wakefield on the 21st of May, the "yet remaining" Lancashire Royalist troops followed Lord Derby to York, expecting to have found him there; but the Earl having abandoned his "desire to wayte

upon the Queen to Oxford," in consequence of the invasion of the Isle of Man by the Scots, and the Queen not thinking it proper or respectful to act contrary to the tenor of his Majesty's special wish, he was dispatched back to Lathom; and, after having made such arrangements and provisions of men, money, and ammunition as were absolutely required for the protection of his Countess and children, then threatened with a siege, he took shipping, and departed for the Isle of Man with such attendants only as could most easily be spared, landing there on the 15th of June, 1643, thus leaving, as his lordship himself says, "my house and children, and all my concerns in England, to the care of my wife, a person of virtue and honour equal to her high birth and quality, who being now left alone, a woman, a stranger in the country, (and as the enemy thought) without friends, provisions, or ammunition, for defence or resistance, concluded that Lathom House would fall an easy prey to them, to which purpose they procured a commission from the Parliament to reduce it by treaty or force."

From what has now been advanced, it is clear that Colonel Ashton's movements did not influence in any way the necessity of the Earl's leaving the county, but his mission to the Isle of Man. It was entirely against his own wishes that such a necessity should have been imposed upon him, and his lordship appears somewhat solicitous that any erroneous impression on this point should be removed, for, writing to his son, Lord Strange, he says:—"All these considered, it behoved me to prevent the mischief betimes, both for his Majesties service, and mine own good. Her Majestie and those with her rightly weighed the danger, as witness my Lord Goring, Lord Digby, Lord Jermyn, Sir Edward Deering, and many more,—all who were of opinion that my coming hither was necessarie; and accordingly I did. Thus farr have I digressed from my intended discourse to take off that objection, if I were asked when every gallant spiritt had engaged himself for King and Country, why I left the island, soe wicked as to desert the cause, soe simple as to become a neuter.¹ How others may be pleased herewith I know not, (but) rather thinke these shorte Relations may more puzzle their mindes, if any chance to see this, but you, my sonn, who are bound to beleive well of your father."*

The Earl's arrival at the Isle of Man proved indeed most fortunate, and secured the safety of the island; for had his

* Memoir of James, Earl of Derby: *Peck's Desiderata*, xi, 23.

presence been delayed but for a few days, the measures of the enemy had been so effectually taken, that it must have fallen an easy prey to rebellion and misrule, and would have afforded a very desirable and secure hold for the disaffected, who had become numerous and formidable, and a convenient depôt for the Scotch auxiliaries, who were expected by sea from the north. The island had been placed under the lieutenantancy of Captain Greenhalgh,* who, to use the Earl's own words, "had wisely managed the business by patience and good conduct, and observing the general disorder, had wisely considered that the people were to be won as tame wild beasts, and not by violent wrestlings;" and the Earl bears this testimony to the character of his lieutenant:—"First, that he was a gentleman well born, and such usually scorn a base action," and secondly that he had "a good estate of his own, and therefore need not borrow of another, which hath been a great fault in this country;" and, "in fine he is such that I thank God for him." The presence and conciliatory measures of the Earl soon had the effect of restoring the island to its usual state of tranquillity and calming the passions and healing the seditions of the discontented; and his judgment and wise discretion reconciled the people to their duty to the King, to their obedience to himself, and to friendship amongst themselves.

It may be as well to observe here that early in the year 1644 a Parliament was constituted at Oxford consisting of

* Captain John Greenhalgh, of Brandleholme, in the parish of Bury, in the county of Lancaster, seems to have succeeded to the government of the Isle of Man after Captain Christian, for on a former visit of the Earl to the Isle of Man, probably during Earl William's lifetime, the Earl, ~~then~~ James Lord Strange, formed the acquaintance of one Captain Christian, whom the Earl, in a letter to his son Charles, Lord Strange, says, "I observed had abilities sufficient to do me service, and being recommended to me by a friend, I inquired more of him, and was told he was a Manxman born, and had made a good fortune in the Indies, and he offered on these terms, that being resolved to retire into his own country, whether he held the place of power or not, he would be content to hold the staff of government, until I made choice of another, when he would willingly resign, and as for pay, he valued that so little, that he would do the service without any, or what pleased. He was an excellent companion, and as rude as a sea captain should be; but some what more refined and polished, by serving the Duke of Buckingham about a year at Court: thus far I cannot much blame myself; but think if I had a jewel of value, I prized it at too high a rate, which he knew very well, and made use thereof to his own ends, abusing, and presuming on my support, in all his actions, which from time to time he gilded over with such fair pretences, that I believed and trusted himself too much; also I gave too little heed to the complaints against him, which was my fault, for which I have been whipped, and will do so no more. Whilst he governed for some years, he pleased me very well, and had the quality of the best of servants, for whatever I bid him do he performed, and if it succeeded ill, he would take it upon himself, but if well, he would give me the glory of it; this he did whilst I continued my favours to him, the denial of which would have been as ungrateful as unwise in me; if I should not thereby have obliged him to me, as the only means to keep him good; but he was ever forward in making many requests, which while they were fit for me to grant, I did not deny; but indeed a good servant would rather be prevented by his lord's generosity, than demand anything of himself; and choose to be enriched as it enforced, rather than pretend to it; and ascribe the benefit to the honour of his office, rather than to merit. But I observed the more I gave, the more he asked, and such things as I could not grant, without much prejudice to himself and others: so after a while I sometimes refused him, on which it was observed to fall out according to the old observation, that when a prince hath given all, and a favourite can well desire no more, then both grow weary of one another." Christian, as will appear subsequently, suffered for alleged treason to the Countess and her family.

such of the lords and commons as had seceded from the one at Westminster. The Queen appears to have vehemently opposed this step; and the King's repugnance to the newly-constituted Parliament was not less great; but the views of his own party, who had influenced his Majesty so much to the prejudice of the Earl of Derby, were so decidedly in its favour, that he was compelled to yield. The Oxford Parliament assembled January 22, but proved a weak and irresolute body, not being at all unanimous; and was finally adjourned on the 16th of April, when the King congratulated himself upon having got rid of what he was pleased to call his "mongrel Parliament." The Queen, being near her confinement, retired to Exeter for greater security, and from that time never again saw the King.

Almost immediately after the departure of the Earl of Derby for the Isle of Man, his Countess, who was then at Lathom with her family, received intelligence that Lathom House was about to be attacked by the Parliamentarians; and we must now lay before the reader the remarkable and unparalleled defence Lathom House maintained, for several months, under the valiant and accomplished Countess, Charlotte de la Tremouille, whose intrepidity and heroic conduct in the memorable siege of her noble husband's mansion at Lathom has given to her exalted name an honourable and imperishable celebrity, and afforded to Lathom House the most interesting page of its eventful history. Fortunately, a diary or journal of the principal events connected with the first siege of Lathom House, in 1644, has been preserved, for which we are indebted, most probably, to Edward Halsall, whose name and casualty appear on the first leaf of the copy of *A Brief Journal of the Siege of Lathom House* in the Ashmolean Library, at Oxford, (A. Wood, MSS. 16):—"Wherein I was wounded, Edward Halsall." Mr. Halsall, the supposed journalist,* at the time of the siege, could scarcely have been more than seventeen years of age, for in a letter, dated Madrid, June, 1650, recounting the means used to discover the murderers of Anthony Ascham, Cromwell's resident at Madrid, it is asserted that five persons had been arrested, one being, according to the official report of the Licentiate de Guevara, "Don Edward Halsall, Englishman, of the Duchy of Lancaster, of twenty-three years of age, knight."

* Two other persons are mentioned as being the probable writers of the journal, one being Chisenhall, who was a known literary character among the military defenders of Lathom House; and the other Brideoake (afterwards Bishop of Chichester); and one of Lord Derby's chaplains, who is stated to have been resident in Lathom during the entire siege, where he "did good service."

It is worthy of remark that so early as 1644, the family of Halsall had been resident at Halsall, near Ormskirk, for fourteen generations. Another copy of the *Journal of the Siege of Lathom House* is contained in the volume of the Harleian MSS. (No. 2074), in the British Museum, which it is proposed to reproduce here in its entirety, merely dispensing with the abbreviations and contractions, and making such alterations in the spelling, as will make it more readable, and adding, in the shape of notes, some additional particulars.

The officers engaged in the memorable siege of Lathom House were, under the command of General Sir Thomas Fairfax, Colonels Rigby, of Burgh; Egerton, of Shaw; Moore, of Bank Hall; Ashton, of Middleton; Holcroft, of Holcroft; and Holland, of Denton; with Major Morgan, as officer of engineers.—On the side of the Countess of Derby, who acted as governess, were Major William Turner; Captains William Farrington, of Wearden; Charnock, of Charnock; Chisenhall, of Chisenhall; Edward Rawstorne, of New Hall; Henry Ogle, of Prescott; Richard Fox, and Molyneux Radcliffe; and Lieutenants Penketh, Worrall, and Walthew, of Walthew, near Wigan.

JOURNAL OF THE SIEGE OF LATHOM HOUSE.

The Earl of Derby, in the rise of this rebellion, having on his own charges brought up 3000¹* of his best men and arms to the King's standard, with purpose to have attended his sacred Majesty in person, was at the request of the

¹ The Lord Molyneux's Regiment and Sir Gilbert Gerard's out of Lancashire, Sir Thos. Salisbury's out of Wales.

* There appears to be some doubt whether the 3000 here mentioned included those raised by Lord Molyneux, Sir Gilbert Gerard, and Sir Thomas Salisbury. In a letter from the first Lord Spencer to his lady, dated Shrewsbury, Sept. 21st, 1642, the numbers are mentioned as under: "Tis said the King goes on Friday towards Chester for a day or two, leaving his forces here, which are 6000 foot, 1500 dragoons, and above 2000 horse. There are 4000 more raised they say, 2000 by my Lord Strange, 1000 by Sir Thomas Salisbury, and 1200 by Sir Edward Stradling," which agrees with Lord Derby's own statement, for he says "This I know there were 3000 good men of my raising went forth of Lancashire and other places of my Lieutenancie."—[See *Peck's Desiderata*.]—The two regiments, one of horse and the other of foot, raised by Lord Molyneux and his brother Caryl, noticed by Collins, in his *Baronetage*, might be included in the 3000, or might be distinct.—On the authority of Seacombe, at page 86 of this work, it is noticed that Lord Strange on each of the moors of Preston, Ormskirk, and Bury mustered 20,000 men. These numbers, no doubt, are greatly exaggerated, and some writers are of opinion that there was only one muster, namely, that of 5000 at Preston, on the 20th June, 1642, while others are of opinion that the musters alluded to by Seacombe were made immediately after the skirmish at Manchester, towards the end of the following month; but being disappointed and disgusted at the treatment Lord Derby (then Lord Strange) had received from the King, owing to the jealousy of the advisers at his Majesty's person, determined to return home and stand neutral. The 3000 alluded to by Mr. Halsall in his journal cannot have reference to the great musters at Preston, Ormskirk, and Bury, though, no doubt, they formed part of those musters, having been previously organised, but were the three regiments of foot and three troops of horse, being principally his own tenants and others on his lordship's estates, whom he clothed and equipped at his own expense, and led forth to the King at head-quarters at Shrewsbury, a part of whom were afterwards sent back into Lancashire to take Manchester, under the command of Colonel Sir Gilbert Gerard, who at his Majesty's express command, was joined by Lord Strange, who was also hastened from head-quarters to seize Manchester.

truly noble Sir Gilbert Hoghton* and others, sent back for Lancashire by his Majesty's express command, where with naked men, or thinly armed, he sustained the fury of the rebels, and kept the field against them for seven months together, storming several of their towns, and defeating them in sundry battles, himself in every assault and skirmish charging in the front to encourage his soldiers with exemplary resolution, when the multitude of the enemy exceeded his number by the advantage of two or three to one, till his lordship, unhappily called to crush the thriving sedition in Cheshire, withdrew his horse into that county.

The enemy now spying an opportunity for action in his absence, drew out their garrisons, and with their whole strength assaulted the town of Preston,† which, not yet fortified, and suddenly surprised, notwithstanding the endeavours and resolute resistance of Sir Gilbert Hoghton, the mayor, and other gentlemen, was lost to the enemy. Upon his lordship's return, he found himself straitened to a narrow

* Sir Gilbert Hoghton, of Hoghton Tower, was the second baronet of a house of unblemished loyalty, and of great antiquity. At the time here alluded to, Sir Gilbert was well stricken in years. He was knighted, July, 1606, and was member of Parliament for Lancaster. He lost a son and brother in the service of the King, and had the sorrow of beholding his eldest son, Sir Richard, join the Presbyterians. He died April, 1647. The ruins of Hoghton Tower lie between Preston and Blackburn. It was here where Sir Gilbert fired his beacon as a signal for the Royalists to muster. Dr. Whitaker, in his *Whalley*, describes this celebrated castle of Hoghton Tower as the only specimen in that neighbourhood of a true baronial residence, with two courts crowning the summit of an elevated ridge, and appearing at a distance like a fortified town. The pile, which is now the abode of humble cottagers, consisted of two courts, with three square towers in the front, the gateway being beneath the middle one. During the Civil War, the place was garrisoned on behalf of the King; and after the success of Sir John Seaton, at Preston, in February, 1643, Hoghton Tower was surrendered to the Parliamentarians, who, having got possession, about one hundred of them, under Captain Starkey, of Blackburn, entered the Tower, "where they found good store of arms strewed upon the stairs," when an explosion took place, which blew both Captain Starkey "and all his men, with the top of the house up, threescore whereof were afterwards found, some without armes and some without legges, and others fearful spectacles to look upon."—[See *Punctual Relation of Passages in Lancashire*, printed in 1643.]—By some the blowing up of Hoghton Tower is attributed to two Royalists, to whom quarter had been given, setting fire to a train of powder. There is every reason, however, to believe that the explosion was accidental, an opinion entertained by Parliamentarians themselves, and in *Lancashire's Valley of Achor* the catastrophe and its cause is thus accounted for by a Parliamentary writer: "It was not long after this glorious victory [the Parliamentary success at Preston] was clouded by a dark and terrible blow at Haughton Tower, where the miscarriages of great and small in the taking of Preston did us more mischief than all our enemies from the entrance of our hostilities to that time; as sometimes Israel's sin throw Balaam's counsell prevailed to punish them more than Warre, or Witchcraft. Our men going down to take the tower, and finding it prepared for entrance possessed themselves of it, till being burdened with the weight of their swearing and drunkenesse, plundering, and wilfull waste at Preston, it dispossessed them by the help of powder, to which their disorders laid a Train fired by their neglected Matches, or by that great Souldiers' Idoll, Tobacco. However it was, sure it is that the place so firmly united, chose rather to be torn in pieces than to harbour the possessors. O that this thundering Alarm might ever sound in the ears of our Swearing, Cursing, Drunken, Tobacco-abusing Commanders and Souldiers unto unfained Repentance."—On the 16th August, 1617, James I. paid a visit to Hoghton Tower, and remained there till noon of the 18th. His Majesty was entertained with great hospitality by Sir Gilbert Hoghton, and "Jamie the Scot" joined freely in the sports of the field and the pleasures of the table; and, according to tradition, a fine Loin of Beef, served up on this festive occasion, was so much to the "canny" monarch's taste, that he conferred upon the joint the Order of Knighthood, and it has ever since been called the Sur-(Sir) loin.

† The engagements at Preston, Lancaster, Wigan, and Warrington were previous to the Earl of Derby's departure for the Isle of Man, and have been already noticed.

compass ; yet opposing loyal thoughts to dangers, and labouring to keep life in the business by speedy action, he withdrew into the field, and marched about twenty miles into the enemy's country, taking Lancaster, and regaining Preston by assault, when the rebels, with a numerous army, were within six hours' march pursuing him. After this, his lordship giving two or three days to refresh his soldiers, toiled out with three days' restless service. The enemy got fresh supplies from Yorkshire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, and Derbyshire, so that, now again swelled into a numerous body, they attempt an assault of Wigan, which, with little service, was unfortunately lost, ere his lordship could come to its relief ; whereof her Majesty, then at York, having intelligence, sent express command to his lordship not to engage his army in any service till she sent him aid, which his lordship expected a fortnight every day ; but being disappointed in his hopes, and the enemy grown insolent by his stillness, he was moved by the Lord Molyneux, Sir Thomas Tyldesley, and other gentlemen with him, to repair to the Queen in person, to hasten the promised supplies, when, (after a fortnight's attendance) fell out that unfortunate surprise of the Lord Goring in Wakefield, which utterly disenabled her Majesty to spare him any relief, which the governor of Warrington (Colonel Norris*) understanding, after five days' siege, gave up the town (the greatest key to the county) to the enemy, and all his lordship's forces, then with the Lord Molyneux and Colonel Tyldesley, marched down to York.†

At the same time her Majesty received intimation of the Scottish design for the invasion of England, with signification of their intention to ship from the north of Ireland to the Isle of Man, and so for England ; wherefore it was the Queen's pleasure expressly to command him for the island, to prevent their passage that way.

At his arrival there, he found the whole country in sedition and insurrection, some turbulent spirits, tutored by their brethren the Scots, having taught the commons the new trick

* Colonel Norris, the representative of the house of Speke, near West Derby, Liverpool, was descended from an ancient family who came over to England with the Conqueror. Sir Edward Norris distinguished himself in the battle of Flodden Field, and for his achievements on that day he was allowed to bring from the palace the library of the deceased King of Scotland, several books of which were recently, if not now, at Speke Hall, which is also adorned with many other trophies of that memorable victory, amongst which may be noticed the wainscot of the King's hall, which was put up in Sir Edward's own hall at Speke, and bears all the orders of architecture, and round the top of it this inscription :—"Sleep not til thou hast well considered how thou spent the day past ; if thou hast well done thank God for it, if otherwise, repent."

† The account of these movements fully agrees with the Earl's own statements.—[See *Peck's Desiderata*, cap. xi, 22.]

of rebellion, under the mask of defensive arms, for the preservation of their religion and liberties; and indeed this subtle poison had so wrought in that little body, that the whole country was swelled to one tumour, which, by all symptoms, had broke out in three days with the death of the bishop and governor, and the loss of the island.

To prevent this rupture, his lordship presently raised the horse of the country, apprehended the persons of their seditious agents, doing execution upon some, imprisoning others, and striking a general terror into all, which suddenly calmed the madness of the people, and drew a face of quiet upon the country. Yet to remove the ground of this disease required both skill and time, as well to prevent a relapse of the countrymen, as an invasion of the Scots, who still promise for conscience-sake to abet them in their rebellion, it being the good fortune of that ungrateful nation to be esteemed angels for troubling and poisoning all waters.

His lordship, by the Queen's command, having spent much time in the unhappy business, is at last called back by his Majesty to attend his Parliament at Oxford, and at his return to England, is welcomed with the news of A SIEGE AGAINST HIS LADY, which had been long in consultation, and now is matured for action.

Upon the surrender of Warrington, May 27, 1643, a summons came from Mr. Holland, governor of Manchester, to the Lady Derby, to subscribe to the propositions of Parliament, or yield up *Lathom House*; but her ladyship denied both—she would neither tamely give up her house, nor purchase her peace with the loss of her honour. But being then in no condition to provoke a potent and malicious enemy, and seeing no possibility of speedy assistance, she desired a peaceable abode in her own house, referring all her lord's estate to their disposal, with promise only to keep so many men in arms as might defend her person and house from the outrages of their common soldiers, which was hardly obtained.

From this time she endured a continued siege, only with the openness of her gardens and walks, confined as a prisoner to her own walls, with the liberty of the castle-yard, suffering the sequestration of her whole estate, daily affronts and indignities of unworthy persons, besides the unjust and undeserved censures of some that wore the name and face of friends; all which she patiently endured, well knowing it no wisdom to quarrel with an evil she could not redress. Therefore, to remove all pretences of violence or force against her, she

restrained her garrison soldiers from all provocation and annoyance of the enemy, and so by her wisdom kept them at a more favourable distance, for the space of almost a whole year. Rigby, all this time, restless in his malice, sought all occasions to disturb her quiet, sending out his troops to plunder her next neighbours, and surprise such of the King's good subjects as had fled unto her for safety. In the beginning of February, her garrison soldiers had a skirmish with a troop of his horse, commanded by Captain Hindley, wherein they rescued some of their friends, taking prisoners Lieutenant Dandy,* first wounded, his cornet, and some troopers. By his unjust report of this action, and some other slight visitations within musket-shot of her house, he wrought on Sir Thomas Fairfax and the rest of the Parliament forces to his own purpose.

On Saturday, the 24th of February, it was resolved in a council of the Holy State,† at Manchester, after many former debates and consultations to the same purpose, that Mr. Ashton, of Middleton, Mr. Moore, of Bankhall, and Mr. Rigby, of Preston (three Parliament colonels) should with all speed come against Lathom, of which her ladyship had some broken intelligence on Sunday morning, and therefore dispatched a messenger to her secret friend, one acquainted with their determinations, to receive fuller satisfaction, in the meantime using all diligence and care to furnish her house with provisions and men, which was a hard work, considering she had been debarred of her estate for a whole year. Yet in these straits she used not the least violence to force relief from any of her neighbours, though some of them were as bad tenants as subjects; but with her own small stock, and the charity of some few friends, by the industry of her careful servant, Mr. Broome, provided herself to bear the worst of a cruel enemy.

The messenger returned on Monday. She had assurance of their design, who were then on their march as far as Bolton, Wigan, and Standish, with pretence to go for Westmoreland, to carry on the multitude blindfold against a house that their fathers and themselves, whilst their eyes were open, had ever honoured, reputed LATHOM, in more innocent times, both for magnificence and hospitality, THE ONLY COURT OF THE NORTHERN PARTS OF THIS KINGDOM, when the good men

* Thomas Dandy, of Croston.

† This was the name assumed by a body of Parliamentarians who met, during the Civil War, at Manchester, and are represented as being, in power and energy, second only to their London brethren.

would in mere love vent their harmless treason, "GOD SAVE THE EARL OF DERBY AND THE KING." But their factious ministers, very dutiful sons of the Church of England, made the pulpit speak their design aloud, one whereof, Bradshaw, to the dishonour of that house (Brasenose) which had given him more sober and pious foundations, took occasion before his patrons at Wigan, to profane the fourteenth verse of the fifteenth chapter of Jeremiah, [Jeremiah l., 14] from thence by as many marks and signs as ever he had given of antichrist, proving the Lady Derby to be the scarlet whore and the whore of Babylon, and Lathom to be Babel itself, whose walls he made as flat and as thin as his discourse. Indeed, before he dispatched his prophecy, he thumped them down, reserving the next verse to be a triumph for the victor.

Feb. 27, 1643-4. On Tuesday, the enemy took their quarters round the house,* at the distance of a mile—two or three at the furthest.

Feb. 28. On Wednesday, Captain Markland brought a letter from Sir Thomas Fairfax, and with it an ordinance of Parliament, the one requiring her ladyship to yield up Lathom House upon such honourable conditions as he should propose, and the other declaring the mercy of the Parliament to receive the Earl of Derby, would he submit himself, in which business Sir Thomas Fairfax promised to be a faithful instrument. To which her ladyship gave in answer, "She much wondered that Sir Thomas Fairfax would require her to give up her lord's house, without any offence on her part done to the Parliament: desiring in a business of such weight, that struck both at her religion and life, that so nearly concerned her Sovereign, her lord, and her whole posterity, she might have a week's consideration, both to resolve the doubts of conscience and to advise in matter of law and honour."

Not that her ladyship was unfixed in her own thoughts, but endeavouring to gain time by demurs and protractions of the business, which, haply [perhaps], the good knight suspecting, denied her the time desired, moving her ladyship to come to New Park,† a house of her lord's, a quarter of a mile from Lathom, and to come thither in her coach (no mean favour,

* The camp of the besiegers is supposed to have been in a woody dell near what is called "The Round O Quarry," about three-quarters of a mile from Lathom House; and this dell is still known as "Cromwell's Trench." By the banks of the Tawd, east of Lathom House, there is a large and remarkable stone, upwards of a ton weight, having three hollows or holes on its surface, supposed to have contained nodules of iron, and is now known as "Cromwell's Stone,"—it being generally thought that these holes were used as moulds for casting cannon-balls during the siege.

† Probably the steward's house, then standing in the New Park, as already noticed, and known by the name of Horton, Alton, or Halton Castle.

believe it) where himself and his colonels would meet her for a full discourse and transaction of the business.

This her ladyship flatly refused, with scorn and anger, as an ignoble and uncivil motion, returning only this answer, "That, notwithstanding her present condition, she remembered both her lord's honour and her own birth, conceiving it more knightly that Sir Thomas Fairfax should wait upon her, than she upon him."

Thursday (Feb. 29) and Friday (March -1) were spent in letters and messages, his generalship at last requiring free access for two of his colonels, and assurance of safe return, unto which her ladyship condescended.*

On Saturday, Mr. Ashton and Mr. Rigby vouchsafed to venture their persons into Lathom House, being authorised by the general to propound the following conditions:—

1. That all arms and ammunition of war shall be forthwith surrendered into the hands of Sir Thomas Fairfax.

2. That the Countess of Derby, and all the persons in Lathom House, shall be suffered to depart, with all their goods, to Chester, or any other of the enemy's quarters, or upon submission to the orders of Parliament to their own houses.

3. That the Countess, with all her menial servants, shall be suffered to inhabit in Knowsley, and to have twenty muskets allowed for her defence, or to repair to her husband in the Isle of Man.

4. That the Countess for the present, until the Parliament be acquainted with it, shall have allowed her for her maintenance all the lands and revenues of the Earl her husband, within the hundred of Derby, and that the Parliament shall be moved to continue this allowance.

These conditions her ladyship rejected, as in part dishonourable, in part uncertain, adding withal, she knew not how to treat with them, who had not power to perform their own offers, till they had first moved the Parliament, telling them it were a more sober course, first to acquaint themselves with the pleasure of the Parliament, and then to move accordingly. But for her part, she would not move the good gentlemen to

* In Seacombe's account, Sir Thomas Fairfax is stated himself to have proceeded, as requested, to Lathom House, for the purpose of conference with the Countess, who, by the advice of Major Farmer, made the most ostentatious display possible of her soldiers and means of defence, to "give some terror to the enemy."—It is by no means certain that Sir Thomas Fairfax was ever personally engaged in the siege beyond planning it. In his memoirs, he says, "After this we took in several garrisons in Cheshire; Lathom only, in Lancashire, held out, which was besieged by the forces of that county, but afterwards the siege was raised by Prince Rupert."—It seems that Fairfax sent Colonel Morgan down to Lathom as his substitute, who was an officer of approved talents and courage; and the "peremptory" colonel was alike confided in by Cromwell and Charles.

petition for her. She would esteem it a greater favour to permit her to continue in her present humble condition.

The two colonels being blank in their treaty, spent their stay in wise instructions to her ladyship, and unjust accusations of her friends and servants, which she not only cleared, but nobly and sharply returned upon their religious agents, so that the grave men being disappointed, both of their wit and malice, returned as empty as they came.

Sunday was their sabbath. On Monday, Mr. Ashton came again alone, with power to receive her ladyship's propositions, and convey them to his general (a notable and trusty employment), which came to these terms :—

1. Her ladyship desired a month's time for her quiet continuance in Lathom, and then herself and children, her friends, soldiers, and servants, with all their goods, arms, and ordnance to have free transport to the Isle of Man; and, in the meantime, that she should keep garrison in her house for her own defence.

2. She promised that neither during her stay in the country, nor after her coming to the Isle of Man, any of the arms should be employed against the Parliament.

3. That during her stay in the country, no soldier should be quartered in the lordship of Lathom, nor at Knowsley House.

4. That none of her tenants, neighbours, and friends, then in the house with her, should, assisting her, suffer in their persons or estates, after her departure.

In the first of these she stuck at more time : in the second, she understood *the Parliament of the three Estates at Oxford*, knowing no other : in the third, she laboured to remove impediments that might hinder the victualling of her house : in the fourth, she gave a colour to her departure, and content to her soldiers, of whom in her treaty she showed an honourable care.

These propositions, returned by Mr. Ashton, were interpreted to the right sense, being apprehended too full of policy and danger to be allowed, as only beating at more time and means, that her ladyship might use that opportunity to confirm herself in her fastness. And therefore in his answer, Sir Thomas thus qualified them to a better understanding.

1. That the Countess of Derby shall have the time she desired, and then liberty to transport her arms and goods to the Isle of Man, excepting the cannon, which shall continue there for the defence of the house.

2. That her ladyship, by ten o'clock to-morrow, disband all her soldiers except her menial servants, and receive an officer, and forty Parliament soldiers for her guard.

This as the last residue of all their councils, with some terrible presages of the danger she stood in, was delivered to her ladyship by one Morgan, one of Sir Thomas's colonels, a little man, short, and peremptory, who met with staidness and judgment to cool his heat; and had the honour to carry back this last answer, for her ladyship could screw them to no more delays.*

"That she refused all their articles, and was truly happy that they had refused hers, protesting that she had rather hazard her life, than offer the like again. THAT THOUGH A WOMAN AND A STRANGER, DIVORCED FROM HER FRIENDS, AND ROBBED OF HER ESTATE, she was ready to receive their utmost violence, trusting in God both for protection and deliverance."†

Being now disappointed in their plot, who expected a quick despatch with the afflicted lady by a tame surrender of her house, having scattered very fearful apprehensions of their great guns, their mortar-pieces, their fire-works, and their engineers, after all their consultations, they prepare for action, when they find her ladyship as fearless of their empty terrors, as, careful to prevent a real danger, she is willing to under-

* It is observed by Seacombe that this summons was brought by a trumpet sent by Fairfax who had been deceived into hopes of starving out the garrison without bloodshed, by the device of her ladyship's chaplain, the Rev. Samuel Rutter, a person whom the Earl had left to her assistance, that she might be guided by his great skill and prudence. This device is related as follows:—During one of the conferences before named, a captain of the Parliamentary forces recognizing in the chaplain an old friend, with whom he had been educated, and very intimate and familiar aforesaid, took a secret opportunity of addressing him, hoping to worm out her ladyship's secrets; conjuring him, by reason of their former friendship, to say truly upon what ground or confidence she still refused these offers, seeing it was impossible to defend her house against such a numerous and well-furnished army as was then encamped in the park. Rutter, casting his eyes earnestly towards the ramparts, bade his friend note their disposition and defence. Her ladyship, as commander-in-chief, to prevent any sudden assault, and likewise to awe the enemy by these demonstrations, had disposed her soldiers in due order, so that they should be seen, under their respective officers, from the main-guard in the first court, down to the great hall, where they had left her ladyship's council. The rest of her forces she had placed above the walls and towers, in such manner as to appear both numerous and well disciplined. "She is nothing so desirous," said Rutter, "as that you should waste your strength and forces by a sudden assault, wherein you would not fail to have the worst of the battle; the place, like as thou seest, being armed at all points, and able to withstand any attack but that of famine." A promise of secrecy was exacted, when the wary chaplain pretended to unfold her ladyship's plans. He said there was but little provision in the place—that she was oppressed with the number of her soldiers—that she would not be able to subsist more than fourteen days; hoping to dare them to a sudden onset, not from her own confidence to give them a repulse, but knowing, that should they continue the siege, she must inevitably be forced to surrender. The captain after embracing his friend, and promising faithfully to maintain the secret, revealed, as Rutter intended he should, the whole of his confidential story to the enemy's council; who, giving credit to the tale, laid aside, for the present, all thoughts of attack, and resolved to invest the place in a close and formal siege.

† According to another narrative, the reply of the Countess was, "*That as she had not lost her regard for the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, nor her allegiance to her PRINCE, nor her faith to her LORD, she could not therefore as yet give up that HOUSE. That they must never hope to gain it till she had either lost all these, or her life in defence of them.*"

stand the power of the enemy, and studious to prevent it, leaving nothing with her eye to be excused afterwards by fortune or negligence, and adding to her former patience a most resolved fortitude. "Ne minimo quidem casui locum relinqui debuisse." Cæs. Com. lib. 6. Otho in Tacit. lib. 1.

The next morning discovered some of the enemy's night works, which were begun about musket-shot from the house, in a stooping declining ground, that their pioneers, by the nature of the place, might be secured from our ordnance on the towers, and so in an orb or ring-work cast up much earth every day by the multitude of country people forced to the service.

March 7, 8, 9, 10. After three days, finding a fixedness and resolution in her ladyship still to keep her house for the service of his Majesty against all his enemies, on Sunday they employ six neighbours of the best rank with a petition to her ladyship, having thrust a form into their hands, and prepared their heads with instructions, as by confession now appears; "That in duty to her ladyship, and love to their country, they most humbly beseech her to prevent her own personal dangers, and the impoverishing the whole country, which she might do if she pleased to slacken something of her severe resolution, and in part condescend to the offers of the gentlemen."

These her ladyship received with all courtesy, discoursing unto them the nature of former treaties, and the order of her proceedings, and this so smoothly and comingly [winningly] that the good men were satisfied, and had little to say, but *God bless the King and the Earl of Derby*. For answer to their paper she told them it was more fit that they petition the gentlemen who robbed and spoiled their country, than her, who desired only a quiet stay in her own house, for the preservation, not spoil of her neighbours. One of the six, of more ability and integrity than the rest, reported the whole business of the answer, and their entertainment, as a true subject to his Majesty and a faithful friend to her ladyship, with which the noble colonels were moved to new propositions, in mere mercy, if you will believe them, to her ladyship and her children. The next day therefore Captain Ashurst, a man that deserves a fairer character than the rest, for his even and civil behaviour, brought a new missive to her ladyship, in these terms:

1. That all former conditions be waived.
2. That the Countess of Derby, and all persons in the

house, with all arms, ordnance, and goods, shall have liberty to march to what part of the kingdom they please, and yield up the house to Sir Thomas Fairfax.

3. That the arms should never be employed against the Parliament.

4. That all in the house, excepting 100 persons, should leave it, and the rest within ten days.

The message read, her ladyship perceived they began to cool in their enterprise, and therefore to lend them some new heat, returned this answer by the captain,—that she scorned to be a ten days' prisoner to her own house, judging it more noble, whilst she could, to preserve her liberty by arms, than to buy a peace with slavery: "And what assurance," said she, "have

*Pax servientibus
gravior quam
liberis bellum.
Liv. lib. 3.*

I ever of liberty, or the performance of any condition when my strength is gone? I have received, under the hands of some eminent per-

sonages, that your general is not very conscientious in the performance of his subscriptions, so that from him I must expect an unsinewed and faithless agreement.¹ It is danger-

ous treating when the sword is given to the enemy's hand." And therefore her ladyship

added, "that not a man should part her house, that she would keep it, whilst God enabled her, against all the King's enemies; and, in brief, that she would receive no more messages without an express of her lord's pleasure, who, she now heard, was returned from the Isle of Man, and to whom she referred them for the transaction of the whole business, considering that frequent treaties are a discouragement to the soldiers besieged, as a yieldance to some want or weakness within, and so the first key that commonly opens the gate to the enemy."

To second and confirm her answer the next day, being Tuesday, a hundred foot, commanded by Captain Farmer,* a Scotchman, a faithful and gallant soldier, with Lieutenant Brethergh† ready to second him in any service, and some twelve horse, our whole cavalry, commanded by Lieutenant Key, sallied out upon the enemy, and because the sequel of every business dependeth upon the beginning, the captain determined to do something that might remember the enemy there were soldiers within. He marched up to their works without a shot, and then firing upon them in their trenches, they quickly left their holes, when Lieutenant Key, having

* Captain Farmer was slain at Marston Moor, then serving under Colonel Chisenhall.

† Of the family of Brethergh Holt, in Childwall.

wheeled about with his horse from another gate, fell upon them in their flight with much execution. They slew about thirty men, took forty arms, one drum, and six prisoners. The main retreat was that day made good by Captain Ogle,* a gentleman industrious to return the courtesy which some of their party shewed to him when he was taken prisoner in the battle at Edgehill. The other passage was carefully secured by Captain Rawstorne. Not one of ours that day was slain or wounded.

By the prisoners we understood the purpose of the enemy was to starve the house, the commanders having courage to pine a lady, not to fight with her.

The four days following (13, 14, 15, 16) passed without much action on either side, saving that the garrison gave them some night alarms, which, to some, ministered an occasion of running away, and to others of belying their own courage, that they had repulsed the garrison soldiers, and slain thousands out of hundreds.

17th. On Sunday night the commanders under her ladyship resolved to try their watches, and therefore, at three o'clock in the morning, Captain Chisenhall, a man of known courage and resolution, Lieutenant Brethergh, and Lieutenant Heape, with only thirty musketeers, issued out of the back gates to surprise the enemy in their new trenches; but they, discovering some of the light matches, ran faster than the captain or his soldiers could pursue, securing their flight in a wood close by, where, not willing to engage his soldiers in unnecessary dangers, he left them, only killing two or three, and chasing the rest in flight.

These sallies and frequent alarms so diseased the enemy that their work went slowly on, having been three weeks and yet not cast up one mount for ordnance; but now, for their own security, to keep off our men with their cannon, they hasten the business, with the loss of many men's lives, compelled to do so desperate service. It moved both wonder and pity to see multitudes of poor people so enslaved to the reformers' tyranny that they would stand the musket and lose their lives to save nothing; so near are these to the times complained of by the historian, when they would no less fear men for their vices, than they once honoured them for their virtues. (Tacit. lib. 1.)†

19, 20. On Tuesday night they brought up one piece of

* A member of the Ogle family of Whiston, in West Derby.

+ Nullus cunctationi locus est in eo consilio, quod non potest laudari nisi peractum. Tacit. Hist. lib. 1, c. 38.

cannon ; Wednesday morning gave us some sport. They then played their cannon three shoots, the ball twenty-four pounder.* They first tried the wall, which being found proof, without much yieldance or the least impression, they afterwards shot higher to beat down pinnacles and turrets, or else to *please the women that came to see the spectacle*. The same day Sir Thomas Fairfax sent her ladyship a letter that he had received from the Earl of Derby, wherein his lordship desired an honourable and free passage for his lady and children, if she so pleased, being loath to expose them to the uncertain hazard of a long siege, especially considering the roughness and inhumanity of the enemy, who joined pride and malice, ignorance and cruelty against her ; not knowing, by reason of his long absence, either how his house was provided with victuals and ammunition, or strengthened for resistance ; and therefore desirous to leave only the hardy soldiers for the brunt, till it should please his Majesty to yield him release, and to preserve his lady and children from the mercy of cruel men, which indeed was the desire of all her friends. But she had more noble thoughts within, which still kindled and increased at the apprehension of danger ; who, returning an acknowledgment of that first courtesy of Sir Thomas Fairfax, after some discourse with the messenger, one Jackson, a saucy and zealous chaplain to Mr. Rigby, gave back this answer :—"She willingly would submit herself to her lord's commands, and therefore willed the general to treat with him ; but till she was assured it was his lord's pleasure she would neither yield the house, nor herself desert it, but wait for the event according to the good will of God." And with the like signification she dispatched a messenger to his lordship in Chester, which was sent out by an alarum to open a passage through their guards and sentries.

21, 22, 23, 24. The four days following were spent in alarums and excursions, without much business of service.

25. On Monday they gave us seven shot of their culverin and demi-cannon, one whereof, by some check in the way, entered the great gates, which were presently made good by the opposition of beds, and such like impediments, to stay the bullet from ranging the court.

28. On Thursday five cannons : This day the enemy, capable of any impression of fear, took a strong alarum, fighting one against another, and in the action [shot] two pieces of cannon in the air.

* The Ashmolean copy states, "the ball six pound."

29. The next day one of our men, vainly provoking danger with his body above a tower, was shot to a present death. In the afternoon, they played four cannons, one whereof, levelled to dismount our ordnance upon the great gates, struck the battlements upon one of our marksmen ready to discharge at the cannonier, and crushed him to death.

31. On Sunday night, two cannons [were] mounted to the lodging chambers, intending by like [most likely] to catch us napping as our men had often caught them.

April 1. On Monday, in the day and night, six cannon, loaded with chain shot and bars of iron [were shot against the house.]

2. The next day they played their mortar-piece, three times loaded with stones, thirteen inches in diameter, eighty pounds in weight. It was planted about half musket shot south-west from the house, on a rising earth, conveniently giving the engineer a full prospect of the whole building. Their work to secure it was orbicular, in form of a full moon, two yards and a half of rampire [rampart] above the ditch.

4. On Thursday they shot one stone and one granado, which overplayed the house. Chosen men upon the guards, standing ready with green and wet hides to quench the burning, had their skill, for they wanted no malice, enabled them to cast fire-works.

5. Having hitherto met so unprosperous success in their holy work, the two colonels, Mr. Ashton and Mr. Moore, cast a shew of religion over their execrable work; and like those

1 Nocturnus adulter,
Tempora Santonico velans adopena cucullo.

Juv. viii. 145.
Tacito mala vota susurro
Concipimus.

Lucan (Pharsal. v. 104).
. Pulchra Laverna .
Da mihi fallere, da justum sanctumque videri.
Horat. (Ep. xvi. lib. 1, l. 60).
Quæ nisi seductis lequeas committere Divis.
Persius (Stat. ii. l. 4).

devout men in the poets,¹ by public and private supplications call God to assist them in their merciless practices to which purpose they issue out commands to all their ministers for a general and humble

imprecation in the following form:—

“To all Ministers and Parsons in Lancashire, well-wishers to our successe against Lathom House, theise.

“Forasmuch as more than ordinary obstrucc’ons have from the beginning of this p’sent service ag^t *Lathom House* interposed our proceedings, and yet still remaine, which cannot otherwise be removed, nor our successe furthered, but only by divine assistance, it is therefore our desires to the ministers, and other well affected persons of this county of *Lancaster*,

in public manner, as they shall please, to com'end our case to God, that as wee are appoynted to the s^l imploiment, soe much tending to the settleing of our p'sent peace in theise parts, soe the Almighty would crowne our weake endeavours with speedy successe in the said designe.

“RAPH ASHTON.

“*Ormskirk, Apr. 5, 1644.*”

“JOHN MOORE.

The four days following were, on their parts, slept out in this pious exercise: On Wednesday our men resolved to waken them. About eleven o'clock, Captain Farmer and Captain Molyneux Radcliffe, Lieutenant Penketh, Lieutenant Worrall, with 140 soldiers, sallied out at a postern gate, beat the enemy from all their works and batteries, which were now cast up round the house, nailed all their cannon, killed about fifty men, took sixty arms, one colour, and three drums; in which action Captain Radcliffe* deserves this remembrance, that with three soldiers, the rest of his squadron being scattered with the execution of the enemy, he cleared two sconces, and slew seven men with his own hand. Lieutenant Worrall, engaging himself in another work among fifty of the enemy, bore the fury of all, till Captain Farmer relieved him, who, to the wonder of us all, came off without any dangerous

1 Plus animi est
inferenti quam pe-
riculum propul-
santi.—Cæs. Com.

wound.¹ The sally port was this day warded by Captain Chisenhall, who, with fresh men, stood ready for succour of ours, had they been put to the extremity; but they bravely marched round the works, and came in at the great gates, where Captain Ogle, with a party of musketeers kept open the passage. Captain Rawstorne had the charge of the musketeers upon the walls, whom he placed to the best advantage to vex the enemy in their flight. Captain Fox, by a colour from the Eagle Tower, gave signal when to march and when to retreat, according to the motions of the enemy, which he observed at a distance. In all this service, we had but one man mortally wounded, and we took only one prisoner, an officer, for intelligence. In former sallies some prisoners were taken, and, by exchange, released, Colonels Ashton and Rigby promising to set at liberty as many of the King's friends then prisoners in Lancaster, Manchester, Preston, and other places, proposed by her ladyship; but most unworthily they broke [their] conditions, it suiting well with their religion neither to observe faith with

* Captain Radcliffe is supposed to have been a collateral of the Ordsall family, which intermarried with the Molyneux family. Captain Radcliffe performed prodigies of valour; and after heading twelve sallies, perished gloriously, whilst storming a fort.

God nor men ; and this occasioned a greater slaughter than either her ladyship or the captains desired, because we were in no condition to keep prisoners, and knew their commanders would never release them but upon base or dishonourable terms.

The same night they played a sacre* twice, to tell us they had cannon that would speak, though our men had endeavoured to steel up all their lips. This whole night was with them one continued alarm, nothing but shouts and cries among them, as if the cavaliers had still been upon them.

12. On Friday they sent us two shots from their mortar-piece, which our men had nailed and battered with smiths' hammers, but it had too wide a mouth to be stopped. This day a chance bullet from their sacre, [passing] through the clay walls, entered the window of my lady's chamber, but was too weak to fright her from her lodging.

13.—On Saturday their demi-cannon opened again, but spake but once, very low, some of the steel nails yet sticking in her teeth, and the gunners also suspecting poison in her belly.

15. On Monday they played their mortar-piece five times with stones and once with granado, which fell short of the house in a walk near the Chapel Tower. Some pieces of the shell, two inches thick, flew over the walls, and were taken up in the furthest parts of the house.

16. Tuesday morning they had a hot alarm, having not yet quit themselves of the fright they took at the last sally. They played their cannon twice, and their muskets half an hour together. In requital whereof, about eleven o'clock, they played their mortar-piece with stone, and perceiving it struck within the body of the house, they cast a granado at the same level, which fell into an old court, striking above half a yard into the earth, yet it rose again with such violence in the bursting, that though its strength was much lessened and deadened with earth, it shook down the glass, clay, and weaker buildings near it, leaving only the carcase of the walls standing about it, yet without hurt of any person, saving that of two women in a near chamber had their hands scorched, to put them in mind hereafter they were in the siege at Lathom.

* The sacre or saker was a piece of ordnance, and appears to have derived its name from the rare female falcon of that name found in the Levant. The sacre is said to have carried a ball $5\frac{1}{2}$ pound weight, the diameter of the bore being 3 $\frac{9}{16}$ ths inches, and the length of the gun 8 or 9 feet. The demi-cannon carried a ball 32 pound weight. The culverin or columbrine had a bore of $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter and from 9 to 12 feet long, and carried a ball of 18 pounds.

The mortar-piece was now more terrible than formerly, insomuch that the captains, to prevent the soldiers' fears, lodged in the upper rooms, within clay walls, as not esteeming the force of the granado; and one thing more now happily lent more courage to our men, that one of their engineers mounting the rampire to see the fall of the granado, was happily slain by a marksman from one of our towers.

On Saturday, they made thirty shoots of their demi-cannon and culverin, to batter a postern-tower, some part whereof stood without the moat and palisades, yet so fenced by a rising ground that their ordnance took only the battlements and a yard of wall, which was made good again the same night, with greater strength and safety for the musketeers than formerly. It was some requital for the breach of a few stones that their cannonier was slain through the porthole by one of our men from the tower. Having either done with the cannon or the cannonier, they now begin with the mortar-piece, which that afternoon they played five times, in the night twice with stones and once with granado, which also by turning of the gunner fell short of the house.

22. On Easter Monday they must needs show the people some pastime, and therefore gave us the bullets, and then the noise of nine cannon and two periers, to hear the rabble shout. That night, too dark for action, the captains sent out two or three firelocks, which struck [them] the whole night into alarums, so that to their musket they added one mortar-piece, and two cannon with chain and small shot.

23. The next day was the second wakes, when Rigby must gratify the country, for their £2000, with the battery of the Eagle Tower at Lathom, against which they played their culverin and demi-cannon twenty-three times, which, unhappily striking against a staircase, forced a large breach. Two of the bullets entered her ladyship's chamber, which at last made her ladyship seek a new lodging, with this protest, that she would keep the house while there was building to cover her head. This action must needs [have] proceeded either from pride or malice, it being no furtherance to the taking of the house to batter a tower that stood in the midst of it; but sure it was their plot either to strike off one of the horns of the whore of Babylon, or else to level one of her hills; the seven towers in the divine's sermon being easily found to be the seven hills of Rome. It saved the tower some buffets that day that two of their gunners were discharged of their employment by our marksmen from the top

of the same tower which they were battering. The same night a strong alarm beat all their men to the cannon, not to defend them, but themselves, which they bravely discharged, twice loaden with cartridge and chain against two lighted matches cast near their works in balls of clay.

24. On Wednesday, they only gave us three periers and two cannon. But now Mr. Rigby, who undertook the management, and expected the glory of this enterprise, having wearied his soldiers, wasted his powder, and emptied himself of a good part of his exacted and plundered moneys, finding her ladyship nothing [inclined] to yield to his great guns, but daily to beat and baffle his soldiers, is now for present fire and ruin. He was provided [with] a new stock of granadoes, and intends to spend his powder and malice in them.

25. On Thursday, he sends his last message, as he calls it, a furious summons to her ladyship to yield up Lathom House, all the persons, goods, and arms within it, into his hands, to receive the mercy of Parliament, and to return her final answer the next day before two o'clock; which her ladyship having read, with a brave indignation calls for the drum,* and tells him "a due reward for his pains is to be hanged up at her gates; but," says she, "thou art but a foolish instrument of a traitor's pride: carry this answer to Rigby," (with a double scorn tearing the paper in his sight), and "*Tell that insolent rebel he shall neither have persons, goods, nor house: when our strength and provision is spent, we shall find a fire more merciful than Rigby, and then if the providence of God prevent it not, my goods and house shall burn in his sight: myself, children, and soldiers, rather than fall into his hands, will seal our religion and loyalty in the same flame;*"† which being spoken aloud in her soldiers' hearing, they broke out into shouts and acclamations of joy, closing all with this general voice, "We'll die for his Majesty and your honour—God save the King!"

The drum returned. Her ladyship and the captains fell into consultation of a further answer to that proud message. Something must be done; and now was the nick and joint of time, according to the observations of the historian, "that the changes of times are the most fit for brave attempts, and delays they are dangerous, where softness and quietness

* This interesting scene is the subject of a painting still preserved at Knowsley.

† The reply of the Countess, as given by Seacombe, was, "Trumpet," said she, "tell that insolent rebel Rigby, that if he presumed to send any other summons to that place, she would hang up the messenger at the gates."

1 *Transitus rerum.*
—*Tacit. lib. 1.*—
Nec desperes nunc
posse fieri, quod jam
toties actum est.—
Cæs. Com.

draweth more danger than hazarding rashly.¹

The mortar-piece was that that troubled us all. The little ladies had stomachs to digest cannon, but the stoutest soldiers had no hearts for granadoes; and might not they at once free themselves from the continual expectation of death? "'Tis a hard choice," says young Piso, "either to kill, or be killed," and this was our present condition—either sheepishly to receive death, when they would send it upon our heads, or manfully return it upon their own. At last it was resolved, notwithstanding a battery, and ordnance planted against every passage, to sally out the next morning and venture for all.

26. All things prepared, about four o'clock next morning, Captain Chisenhall and Captain Fox, Lieutenant Brethergh, Lieutenant Penketh, Lieutenant Walthew, and Lieutenant Worrall are designed for the service.* Captain Ogle had the main guard, to secure a retreat at the southern gate; Captain Rawstorne has the charge of the sally gate, to secure our retreat on the east side; Captain Radcliffe has the care of the marksmen and musketeers upon the walls, to attend the approaches, or vex the flight of the enemy. Captain Farmer, with a reserve of fresh men, stands ready at the parade to relieve either captain in state [case] of necessity. All things thus disposed, Captain Chisenhall, and two lieutenants, issues out at the eastern gate, and before he was discovered got under their cannon, marching straight upon the scouts, where they had planted their great gun. It cost him a light skirmish to gain the fort: at last he entered: many [being] slain, some [taken] prisoners, and some escaping. Now, by the command of that battery, the retreat being assured, Captain Fox seconds him with much bravery, beating upon their trenches from the eastern to the south-west point, till he came to the work which secured the mortar-piece, which being guarded with fifty men, he found sharp service, forcing his way through musket and cannon, and beating the enemy out of the sconce with stones, his musket, by reason of the high work, being unserviceable. After a quarter of an hour's hard service, his men got the trench, and scaled the rampire, where many of the enemy fled, the rest were slain. The sconce, thus won, was made good by a squadron of musketeers, which much annoyed, [whilst] attempting to come up again. The two main works thus obtained, the two captains with ease walked

* Seacombe divides this sally into two successive ones, both being successful and for the same object; and he differs from Mr. Halsall's *Journal* in placing both as preceding the Countess's spirited reply to Colonel Rigby's Trumpet.

the rest of the ground, whilst Mr. Broome, with a company of her ladyship's servants and some fresh soldiers, had a care to level the ditch, and by a present device, with ropes lifting the mortar-piece to a low drag, by strength of men drew it into the house, Captain Ogle defending the passage against another company of the enemy which played upon their retreat. The like endeavour was used to gain their great guns; but lying beyond the ditch, and being of such bulk and weight, all our strength could not bring them off before the whole army had fallen upon us; however, our men took time to poison all the cannon round, if anything will do the feat, Captain Rawstone still defending the first pass against some offers of the enemy to come up by the wood.

This action continued an hour, with the loss of two men on our part, who, after they were mortally wounded, still fired upon the enemy till all [were] retreating. What number of the enemy were slain is not easy to guess. Besides the execution done [to the enemy] in their trenches, Captain Farmer's and Captain Radcliffe's reserves, with the best marksmen, played upon them from the walls with much slaughter, as they quit their holds. Our men brought in many arms, three drums, and but five prisoners, preserved by Captain Chisenhall, to shew that he had mercy as well as valour. One of these was an assistant to their engineer Browne, who discovered to us the nature of their trench, in which they had laboured two months, to draw away our water.

Their first design was to drain and open our springs, not considering their rise from a higher ground south-east from the house, which must needs supply our deep well, wherever they sunk their fall. This invention failing, they bring up an open trench in a worm work, the earth being indented or sawn, for the security of their miners, and the ditch two yards wide and three deep, for the fall of the water.

But now neither ditches nor aught else troubled our soldiers, their grand terror, the mortar-piece, which had frightened them from their meat and sleep, like a dead lion quietly lying among them: every one had his eye and his foot upon him, shouting and rejoicing as merrily as they used to do with their ale and bagpipe. Indeed, every one had his apprehension of this service, that the main work was done, and what was yet behind [was] but a mere pastime.

The house, though well fenced against the shot of cannon, had much inward building of wood, [particularly] an ancient

and weak fabric, with which many men's lives were nakedly exposed to the periers, and by this day's action preserved, of which in respect of all other occurrences in the siege, we may say what Livy speaks of the battle at Nola—"Ingens eo dies, ac nescio an maxima illo bello gesta sit—Circa Alesium tantæ res gestæ, quantas audere vix hominis, perficere nullius, nisi Dei sit."—Parterculus.* It was the greatest and most fortunate exploit. Her ladyship, though not often overcarried with any light expressions of joy, yet religiously sensible of so great a blessing, and desirous, according to her pious disposition, to return acknowledgments to the right Author, God alone, presently commands her chaplains to [make] a public thanksgiving.

The enemy, thus terrified with this defeat, durst not venture [into] their earthworks again till midnight; towards morning removing some of their cannon, and the next night stealing away all the rest, save one piece for a memorandum. This one escaped nailing, which the colonels durst not venture [to place] on its own mount, but planted at a distance, for fear of the madmen in the garrison.

One thing may not here be omitted. That day that our men gave Rigby that shameful defeat, had he destined for the prosecuting of his utmost cruelty. He had invited, as it is now generally confessed, all his friends, the holy abettors of this mischief, to come see the house yielded or burned, he having purposed to use his mortar-gun with fire balls or grenades all afternoon; but her ladyship before two o'clock (his own time) gave him a very scurvy satisfying answer, so that his friends came opportunely to comfort him, who was sick of shame and dishonour, to be routed by a lady and a handful of men.

After this he was hopeless of gaining the house by any other means than starving us out, or withdrawing the water, which our captains perceiving, presently sunk an eye to meet them in their works, if they discovered any mines to blow [up] the towers, or walls, in which we had diligent observers, to hearken to any noise from their trench, that accordingly our men might direct their countermine.

From this time to the 25th May we had a continued calm, Mr. Rigby's spirit† being laid within our circle, so that we were scarcely sensible of a siege, only by the restraint of our liberty. But our men continually vexed their quiet, either by the excursions of a few in the night, or by frequent alarms,

* Lib. 1. c. 17.

† Mortar-piece.

which the captains gave their soldiers leave to invent and execute for their recreation. Sometimes, in spite of their perdues, they would steal a cord about some tree near the enemy's [work], and, bringing the end round, would make it terrible with many ranks and files of light matches; sometimes dogs, and once a forlorn horse, handsomely starred with matches, but turned out of the gate, appeared in the dark night like young constellations. But the enemy, so diseased and beaten both in jest and earnest, many of them quit their charge, the rest cried out for pay, ready to take any occasion to leave the plunder of Lathom House to others. Colonel Rigby, perceiving them ready to crumble into mutinies, endeavoured to cement the breaches with some small pittance of their pay, declaring it had cost him £2,000 of his own moneys in the siege, who was never known to be worth one till he became a public robber by law; but you must remember he had been a lawyer, and a bad one.

All this cheap talk would not keep his soldiers from defection; many ran away, one whereof, escaped from the enemy's works at mid-day, came to us, from whom we received this intelligence. Our men, not judging it safe to trust a fugitive enemy, would not venture upon another sally, imagining some treachery might have been weaved in all these plain webs, and covered by the artifice of this strange convert; but Rigby hearing tell of this renegade, presently smelled a plot, and every day and night doubled his guards. His men, wearied out with extraordinary duty, and himself perplexed with fears and jealousies, was forced to call down Colonel Holland from Manchester to his assistance. About this time we discovered a cessation in their mine work, the abundance of rain so slackening and loosening the earth, that their trench all fell in, with the death of three of their miners.

May 23. On Thursday Captain Edward Mosley brought another summons to her ladyship from his Colonels, Holland and Rigby, something fuller than the former—(it not beseeming Mr. Rigby's greatness to remit anything of his former rigour)—that her ladyship should forthwith yield up her house, her arms and goods, all her servants, and her own person and children into their hands, to be submitted to the mercy of the Parliament; which, being read, her ladyship smiled, and in a troubled passion, challenged the captain with a mistake in the paper, [saying] *mercy* instead of *cruelty*. "No," says he, "the mercy of the Parliament;" when her ladyship quickly and composedly replied, "'The mercies of the wicked are

cruel.' Not that I mean," says she, "a wicked Parliament, of which body I have an honourable and reverend esteem, but wicked factors and agents, such as Moore and Rigby, who, for the advantage of their own interests, labour to turn kingdoms into blood and ruin. That unless they would treat with her lord, they should never have her, nor any of her friends alive;" which the soldiers seconded with a general acclamation.

The captain finding her still resolute in her first intention, in discourse with her ladyship, and some others, gave a tacit intimation (belike [most likely] not without instructions from his colonels) that her ladyship might now have her own first conditions to quit the house; but she returned the captain with the first answer, that she would never treat without commands from her lord.

The same night one of our spies, sent out for news, approached the enemy's works, and taking the opportunity of a single sentry, pistolled him, and entered the house with intelligence from his lordship, that his Highness PRINCE RUPERT was in Cheshire, on his march for her ladyship's relief, which gave us joyful occasion that night to pray for the Prince's happy and victorious approach.

24, 25. Friday and Saturday were passed over in a hopeful ignorance, for while we knew nothing, we had good cause to hope well. It being the custom of the enemy to storm us with most hideous tales from their trenches when they had the least foundation for a lie.

26. On Sunday night, our sentries discovered a weakness in the enemy by the thinness of their relief, wherefore the captain agreed to sally out the next morning with 200 men.

Captain Ogle and Captain Rawstorne were allotted for the action; but they, like good provident fellows, thrifty of their own lives, prevented the captains this honour, who hearing of the Prince's victorious entrance into the country, (by the defeat of Colonel Duckinfield, Mainwaring, Buckley and others, who kept the pass at Stockport, the second key of the county,) stole away betwixt twelve and one o'clock in the night.

The next day Rigby drew up his companies, and what fresh supplies he could raise, in all about 3000 (Mr. Holland being returned to Manchester, and Mr. Moore to Liverpool), unto Ecclestone Green, six miles from Lathom, standing there in great suspense which way to turn. At last, imagining the Prince would either march through Blackburn or Lancaster for the relief of York, he intends not to come in his way, but diverts to Bolton, formerly a garrison, and still fortified.

In this town the Prince intended to take up his quarters, being truly certified by his scouts that it was not (?) without an enemy; but being happily prevented by Rigby and some other auxiliaries from Colonel Shuttleworth, to the number of 4000 or 5000 in all, his Highness on Tuesday drew up his army before the town, as [being] truly happy of an occasion to fight with the merciless besiegers of a Princess in misery, and forthwith with all gallantry and resolution, led up his men to an assault.

The EARL OF DERBY desiring to be one of the first avengers of that barbarousness and cruelty expressed to his lady, with a part of the Prince's own horse charged a troop of the enemy, which braveringly [had bravely] issued out of the town, to disorder and vex our foot in the assault. These he chact [chased] to the very walls, where he slew the cornet, and with his own hand took the colours, being the first ensign taken that day, which he sent to his Highness. At his first pass into the town, closely following the foot at their entrance,* his lordship met with Captain Bootle, formerly one of his own servants, and the most virulent enemy against his lady in the siege. Him he did [the] honour of too brave a death to die by his lordship's hand, with some others of his good countrymen, that had three months thirsted for his lady's and his children's blood.

The Prince that day not only relieved but revenged the most noble lady, his cousin, leaving 1600 of her besiegers dead upon the place, and carrying away 700 prisoners. For a perpetual memorial of his victory, in a brave expression of his own nobleness, and a gracious respect to her ladyship's sufferings, the next day he presented her ladyship with twenty-two of those colours, which three days before were proudly flourished before her house, by the hands of the valiant and truly noble Sir Richard Crane,† which will give honour to his Highness and glory to the action so long as there is one branch of that ancient and princely family which his Highness that day preserved.

A VIEW OF THE GARRISON, THEIR STRENGTH AND DISCIPLINE.

Her ladyship commanded in chief, whose first care was the service of God, which in sermons and solemn prayers she duly saw performed: Four times a day was she commonly present

* This differs from other accounts as to the first repulse of the Royalists, the mode of Lord Derby's entrance, and the number of slain.

† Sir Richard Crane came over with Prince Rupert to England in 1642, and was slain at Bristol in 1645.—"The Crane's" and "Crane's Lane," in Lathom, seem to take their name from this gallant Cavalier, and, most probably, in memory of the interesting event above alluded to.

in public prayers, attended with two little ladies her children, the Lady Mary and the Lady Catherine, for piety and sweetness truly the children of so princely a mother : and if daring in time of danger may add anything to their age and virtues, let them have this testimony, that though truly apprehensive of the enemy's malice, they were never startled with any appearance of danger.

HER CAPTAINS.

Captain Henry Ogle, Captain Edward Chisenhall, Captain Edward Rawstorne, Captain William Farmer, Captain Molyneux Radcliffe, Captain Richard Fox, assisted in their consultations by William Farrington, of Worden, Esq.,* who for executing the commission of array, and attending her ladyship in her troubles, had suffered the seizure of all his personal estate, and the sequestration of all his lands.

The soldiers [were] 300, proportioned to every captain his number : Their duty was every second night, 150 men upon the watch, excepting sixteen selected marksmen out of the whole, [who] all the day kept the towers. The sallies were by lots. The captains drawn by her ladyship chose their lieutenants. Without the walls is a deep ditch fenced on each bank with strong pallisades ; upon the walls seven towers, conveniently flanking one another : within, the walls are lined with earth and sods, two yards thick, by the industry of the soldiers in the siege.

The ordnance six sacres, two sling pieces ; in every tower one or two murderers to scour the ditches.†

Our greatest fear was want of powder, which had been suddenly spent, had not the captains dispensed it frugally, and prohibited the soldiers from waste of shots

Every sally brought us in some new stock, which the soldiers found in the enemy's trenches, to augment our magazine.

This fear made the captains sparing in their sallies and their ordnance, who would else have prevented their near works.

In the whole siege we spent but seven barrels, beside that we took from the enemy : In all the time they neither gave us assault nor alarm.

The provision would have lasted two months longer, notwithstanding the soldiers had always sufficient, whom her ladyship had a care oftentimes to see served herself.

* William Farrington, Esq., was Sheriff in 1636, a Commissioner of Array, and one of the Magistrates displaced by Parliament in 1641. He was one of the proposed Knights of the intended Order of the Royal Oak.

† Sling-pieces were small cannon used for the purpose of shooting stones. The Murderer, or Murderer, was a larger kind of sling-piece, used in later years on shipboard.

We lost but six men in the whole siege, four in service, and two by their own negligence, or over-daring [in] appearing above the towers.

A VIEW OF THE ENEMY.

Sir Thomas Fairfax commanded in chief,* under him Colonel Ashton, Colonel Holland, Colonel Moore, Colonel Rigby, by turns, assisting one another.

The common soldiers, continually in league, betwixt 2000 and 3000, which divided in tertias, 700 or 800 watched every third day and night. Their artillery, one demi-cannon, one culverin, a mortar-piece, and three sacres.

Their works was an open trench round the house, a gard [yard] of ditch, and a yard raised with turf, at a distance of sixty, one hundred, or two hundred yards from the walls.

Their sconces, eight [in number] raised in such places as might most annoy our men in the sally, built *directis lateribus*, [with] two yards in rampier and a yard in ditch, in some places staked and pallisaded to keep off a violent assault.

Their pioneers were first sheltered by baskets and hurdles, and afterwards by a kind of testudo, a wooden engine running on wheels, roofed towards the house with thick planks, and open to the enemy for liberty to cast up the earth.

They shot one hundred and seven cannon, thirty-two stones, and four granadoes. They spent by confession of their own officers near one hundred barrels of powder, lost about five hundred men, besides one hundred and forty maimed and wounded.

The Ashmolean MS. ends thus, "FINIS, a brief journal of the Siege of Lathom House."†

Having given Mr. Halsall's journal of the first siege of Lathom House, extending from the 28th of February to the 27th of May, 1644, it may be as well here to take some further notice of

THE SIEGE OR STORMING OF BOLTON.

The siege of Lathom House by the Parliamentary forces, under Colonel Rigby, had now been carried on for three

* This can only mean that Fairfax arranged the plans of the Siege of Lathom House, at first, perhaps, personally, and afterwards by correspondence. According to Seacombe, Colonel Egerton Shaw had the principal local command in the early part of the siege, and Colonel Rigby afterwards.

† Collins observes that the history of the year 1643 furnishes two similar instances of female resolution: Blanche, Lady Arundel, defended her lord's Castle of Wardour, in Wiltshire, with only twenty-five attendants, against Sir Edward Hungerford and 1300 soldiers, for several days. A full account of the atrocities committed by the Parliament troops on this occasion, and of the sufferings of Lady Arundel, may be found in the *Mercurius Rusticus*. Brilliana, third wife of the noted Presbyterian, Sir Robert Harley, held out for seven weeks, in her husband's Castle of Brampton, in Herefordshire, against Sir Henry Lingen, and a very superior force.

months, and the Earl of Derby having become greatly alarmed for the safety of his heroic Countess and his children, who had so long been subjected to the assaults and insults of the enemy, and being persuaded that the Countess would rather perish than succumb to the foe, he hastened from the Isle of Man, and implored the King to afford him assistance for their immediate relief. His Majesty, being moved by Lord Derby's touching representation of his lady's sufferings, and his urgent appeal in her behalf, acceded to the Earl's request, and issued his commands directing his nephew, Prince Rupert, who was then intending to march to York for its relief, having dispersed the Parliamentary army at Newark, to pass through Lancashire, and render the Countess such assistance as he might deem necessary. Prince Rupert, in obedience to his Majesty's command, entered Lancashire by Stockport Bridge, on Saturday night, the 25th of May, when he came in contact with the Parliamentary forces under Colonel Duckinfield and Colonel Mainwaring, and defeated them after a short but desperate resistance, the Parliamentarians sustaining a loss of 800 men. It was the news of this disaster sustained by the Parliamentarians, and the threatening consequences likely to result from the appearance of Prince Rupert in Lancashire, that suggested to Colonel Rigby, who had been so long engaged in the siege of Lathom House, the policy of raising the siege of that mansion, which he carried into effect on the 27th of May, 1644, retiring with his 2000 men upon Bolton, where, as noticed in the journal of the siege, already given, he was followed by Prince Rupert, accompanied by the Earl of Derby, on Tuesday, the 28th of May, the Prince approaching the town about two o'clock in the afternoon, with an army of about 10,000, principally raised in Wales and Cheshire, which was drawn up on the Moor, at the south-west end of the town. His Highness, having called a council of war, gave orders for the immediate storming of the town, and resolved to do all that lay in his power to "avenge the affronts and abuses put upon and suffered by the brave and most noble Lady Derby."

As was expected by his Highness, the town, which had lately been materially strengthened by the result of extensive military operations and erections and the formation of a wide ditch, and its garrison increased to 2,500 foot and 500 horse, made a stout and vigorous resistance; and, notwithstanding that the assault was made with much resolution and bravery, such was the advantage enjoyed by the enemy, that they

greatly annoyed the Royalists from the wall by their cannon and musketry, so much so that the Royalists were obliged to retreat, with the loss of two hundred men killed and taken prisoners, after half an hour's hard fighting.

The Prince being greatly irritated and baffled by this repulse, and the barbarous cruelty inflicted by the Parliamentarians on the Royalist prisoners taken in the assault, whom, we are told, were taken upon the walls, and "in cold blood murdered before his eyes" in the most cruel manner, he was induced to call a second council of war, and proposed a second attack, which was at once determined upon.

The Earl of Derby, naturally impressed with the conviction, that unless the town was then taken, Lathom House, still occupied by his Countess and his children, would, on the departure of the Prince and his army, be again besieged, requested the Prince to grant him two companies of his own old soldiers and friends, then under the command of Colonel Tyldesley, and allow him the honour to lead the van in the proposed second attack upon the town, declaring that he would either enter the place, or leave his body in the ditch. At first the Prince was unwilling to give his sanction to an undertaking of so desperate a character, and which threatened to hazard the life of a personage of such great importance and influence ; but such, however, was the importunity of the noble Earl, that his request was complied with ; and the plan of the attack being agreed upon and everything matured, his Highness gave orders for an assault on all parts of the town where it was possible to make an approach.

The next morning, the Earl of Derby, with his own handful of faithful followers, to the number of two hundred, marched boldly up to the walls, and made such a determined and courageous attack with his men, that after a sanguinary and desperate conflict, which lasted for about a quarter of an hour, the Earl of Derby himself was the first to enter the place at the *Private Acres* ; and, being now supported with fresh supplies, the assault was successful, the Prince's troops attacking and rushing into the town on every side, and carrying dismay and consternation into the whole garrison, putting to the sword twelve hundred* of the enemy found within the garrison, the Prince forbidding to give quarter to any person found in arms against the King, "because they had so inhumanly murdered his men in cold blood."

* In Mr. Halsall's *Brief Journal of the Siege of Lathom House*, the number slain is given as 1600, and 700 prisoners,—[See page 135.]

In *An Exact Relation of the Bloody and Barbarous Massacre at Bolton in the Moors*,"* purporting to be written by "An Eye-Witness," evidently no friend to Lord Derby or the Royalist cause, as the writer does not fail to put the Earl and the cause to which he was so faithfully devoted in the most objectionable light, the scene within Bolton on the taking of the town on Wednesday, the 29th of May, is thus narrated:—

"But I forbear many sad things which might be inserted, the usage of children crying for their fathers, of women crying out for their husbands, some of them brought on purpose to be slaine before their wives' faces; the rending, tearing, and turning of people naked, the robbing and spoiling of all the people of all things that they could carry: all which this authour being an eye witnesse, and a sharer in, who though quarter was given him by a souldier that found him out in hopes of getting his money, yet had like to be severall times killed after for his money, which others had gotten before, and doubtlesse had been slaine if a Commander had not appointed to carry him to the Prince, yet he that carried him forced him to go and borrow twenty shillings more, else he would leave him in the streets again, and that was present death.

"The relator upon his own knowledge and good information further adds some particular instances of their then matchless cruelty by which (as *ex ungue leonem*) you may judge and abhorre them, and their actions, and the Lord grant England at last an open eye and due sense of her own misery, by this sad spectacle, and wofull example of Bolton.

"First the massacring, dismembring, cutting of dying or dead bodies, and boasting with all new coined oathes, swearing how many Roundheads this sword or they had killed that day, some eight, some six, some more or lesse. Arms, legs, yea the brains themselves lying distant from their heads, bodies, and other parts.

"Their treading under horse feet, and prancing over halfe dying poore Christians, who were so besmeared and tumbled in dust and blood, that scarce anything of man remained in the cruell beastly actor or wofull sufferer, but onely proportion of men in both, the one being become so farr below the nature of a man in acting, the other cast below the condition of the most miserable of men, in suffering such unheard of things.

"Their violent pursuit of their bloody victory in the Towne

and four or five miles out of the Towne in outhouses, fields, highwayes, and woods, killing, destroying, and spoiling all they could reach, and crying out, 'Where is your Roundheads' God now? He was with you at Warrington, Wigan, Manchester, and other places, and hath he forsaken you Roundheads* of *Bolton* now? Sure he is turned Cavalier,' &c.

"Their bragginge how many wives they that day had made widowes and children fatherlesse, mercilessly casting off all pittie, insomuch as any if they were tumbling in the dirt or ditches, did but lift up their heads and cry, 'Quarter, for the Lord Jesus' sake, quarter,' all the mercy they shewed them was to cry out to others, and say, 'God damme, ile give this or that strong Roundheaded rogue one blow more to send him quickly to the Devill.'

"*William Boulton* was fetcht out of his chamber with scorne, saying they had found a praying saint, and fetched him to kill him before his wives face, who being greate with childe and ready to be delivered, fell on him to have saved him, but they pulled her off without compassion, and bade him call on his God to save him, whilst they cut him to pieces.

"*James Syddal*, lying wounded and dying, was heard by one of them to give a groan (after they had thought him long before to be dead), and presently one discharged his pistol at his heart, but it would not enter; the other he prepared after, and that tooke effect; and after boasted what an act he had done, saying, 'Yonder lies one of the strongest Roundheads that ever I met withall, but I think I sent him to the Devill with a vengeance, with the other.'

"*Katherine Saddon*, an aged woman of 72 years old, run with a sword to the very heart, because she had no money to give, and some others killed outright after they were mortally wounded, because they stirred or answered not greedy unjust desires.

* Mrs. Hutchinson, in the life of her husband, Colonel Hutchinson, thus gives the origin of the term "Roundhead," and, coming from such a source, may be accepted as a faithful representation of the Roundheads and their "affectations of habit:"—"When Puritanism grew into a faction, the zealots distinguished themselves, both men and women, by several affectations of habit, looks, and words, which had it been a real forsaking of vanity, and an embracing of sobriety in all those things, would have been most commendable; but their quick forsaking of those things when they had arrived at their object, showed that they never took them up for conscience, or were corrupted by their prosperity to take up those vain things they durst not practise under persecution. Among other affected habits, few of the Puritans, what degree soever they were of, wore their hair long enough to cover their ears, and the ministers and many others cut it close round their heads, with so many little peaks, as was something ridiculous to behold; whereupon Cleveland, in his *Hue and Cry* after them begins,

'With hayre in Characters and Lugs in Text,' &c.

From this custom of wearing their hair, the name of roundhead became the scornful term given to the whole Parliament party, whose army indeed marched out as if they had been only sent out till their hair was grown. Two or three years after, any stranger that had seen them, would have inquired the reason of that name."

"*Elizabeth Horrocks*, a woman of qualitie, after that they had killed her husband, tooke her in a rope and dragged her up and down, after that they had robbed and spoiled her of all she had, and threatened to hang her unlesse she would tell them of her plate and money, who was yet wonderfully preserved.*

"Their inhuman usage of her and some other maids and wives in the town in private places, in fields and in woods, the trees, the timber, and the stones, we hope will one day be a witnesse against them, for some of them being distracted at the present day.

"But the principal stain of all this cruelty, as is reported, was set off by that *Strange Earle*, his ignoble, nay base killing of valiant Captain *Bootle* after quarter given, besides whom, and Captain Horrocke, we lost no commander of note; but they lost, as is confessed, a Colonel, a Lieutenant-Colonel, and divers other commanders of good quality. Whether their losse or ours was greater for souldiers is somewhat questionable, so many of ours escaped, and so many of theirs were buried by them, partly in obscure places, and a greate many of note by them lie buried in the chancell of the Church. Of their and our side it is conceived there was slain about 1200 or 1500 in all.

"Only this one thing they may boast of more in their bloody zeal for the worst of causes that ever was defended by English spirits, that they left almost threescore poor widows husbandlesse, and hundreds of poor children fatherlesse, and a sweet godly place a nest of owles and a den of dragons, almost without inhabitant: only a few women and children are the remnant left, without bit to eate, bed to lie on almost, or cup to drink in, or any means of subsistence in the world. So that we may well conclude with Jeremiah (Lam. i, 12), 'Was ever sorrow like to my sorrow? Is it nothing to you, O yee that pass by?' &c.

"Oh England! Oh Heaven! Oh Earth! &c., beare witnesse of our calamity. Oh London! and all ye places yet freed from our sorrows, think on the day of your peace with thankfulnessse, of our trembling and trouble with compassion. And oh! all ye christians and people of the Land, let bleeding,

* The *Perfect Diurnal*, of June 10th, 1644, adds to the reported victims "four worthy divines, Mr. Haycocks, Mr. Tillesley, Mr. Harper, and Mr. Fogg." It is supposed that the persons here intended were—Alexander Horrocks, minister of Dean; John Tildesley, pastor there; John Harper, pastor of Bolton; and John Fogg, pastor of Liverpool. If these are the persons intended, the truth of the statement of their being put to death by the Royalists is at once disproved by the fact that the whole of these "*four worthy divines*" signed the *Harmonious Consent* in 1649, being four years after the siege of Bolton.

dying, undone Bolton bespeake one thing at the hands of all sorts. Take heed of security and your own divisions, lay aside your own ends, spirits, and interests, engagements, and distractions, and first labour to carry on God's work in the subduing of these cursed *Edomites* and *Amalekites* devoted unto destruction by the hand of heaven, or else look with *Bolton* to taste of the same cup of trembling which the Lord, the God of Hosts, in his due time, take out of all our hands, and fill up with the measure of our bloody enemies' sins, the measure of their plagues, which the just God will in due time return upon them for this and all their cruelty, that King, Parliament, and People may once more rejoice in the due settlement of truth and peace in these our dayes, and Glory may still dwell in our land. Which God grant for Christ's sake. Amen."

Such is a picture of the punishment inflicted upon the Parliamentarians, as given by one whose object has been certainly to portray the deeds of the Royalists in the most hideous light, but to ignore altogether the cruelties of his own party. In the fact that the slaughter was great all parties are agreed, for the Royalist account as given by Seacombe,* states that most of the 2000 Parliament soldiers left by Colonel Rigby were slain in the place under Prince Rupert's order forbidding quarter to any in arms. No doubt the numbers given are overstated, and most probably the numbers as given by an "eye-witness," who makes the total amount of the slain on *both sides* from 1200 to 1500, is nearest the truth, for it is not to be supposed that the writer would be likely to understate the extent of the slaughter. As to the fact of the general slaughter, it has been observed, "it can excite little surprise even if taken in the most aggravated point of view;" and "the warmest advocate of Rupert would not praise *him* for *mercy*." His object was to wipe off the remembrance of former reverses, and to avenge the wrongs of the noble Countess of Derby on Rigby and Bolton, and to deal out equal justice to the Parliamentarians for the exhibition of his captured fellow-soldiers who had just been cruelly murdered before his eyes on the ramparts of the place.

As an "eye-witness" mentions the Earl of Derby's "ignoble, nay base killing of valiant Captain Bootle," some notice of the allegation may be taken here, particularly as *The Perfect Diurnal*, with other contemporary authorities, gives, as the reason of the Earl's execution being fixed at Bolton, the

cruelties of Rupert and the Earl there, and the Earl's having in the town "killed in *cold blood* one Captain Bootle, formerly his servant." Mr. Halsall, in his *Journal of the Siege of Lathom House*, says the Earl did Captain William Bootle, the most virulent enemy against his lady in the siege, "the honour of too brave a death to die by his lord's hands ;" and it is worthy of notice that in all the versions of the Earl's last speech on the scaffold, he may be understood as more or less specifically denying the allegation, for in all he is made to deny the charge of being "a man of blood." It is well authenticated that the noble Earl of Derby was the first to volunteer and head the apparently forlorn hope in the second assault on Bolton, which he successfully accomplished ; and it is presumed, and that too reasonably, that in the height of the carnage which followed, Captain William Bootle, his late but unfaithful servant, met his lordship near the cross, and fell near him, begging quarter, when the Earl, according to Bishop Rutter's account, said to him, "*I will not kill thee, but I cannot save thee from others,*" and so the traitor servant perished in the rage of the assault, not by the Earl's hands, nor yet at his instigation, but by the order of the day, as enforced by Prince Rupert, who was certainly not the general to shew mercy on a foe whose cruelties had challenged and provoked his own into action.

In Pennant's *Tour to Alston Moor* an anecdote is introduced, which states Sir Thomas Bootle, Knight of Melling, the maternal ancestor of Lord Skelmersdale, by whom Lathom House is now possessed, to have been a descendant of Captain William Bootle ; and, which gives to the anecdote its peculiar local interest, mentions the alienation of the estate as a judgment on the representatives of the Earl of Derby, to whom the captain, who had previously been his porter, and had taken a voluntary oath of loyalty, but afterwards sided with the Parliamentarians, is said to have "sued in vain." This story, however, is most satisfactorily confuted by fact. Captain Bootle's christian name, as appears from the register of his burial at Bolton, was "William," for the entry is "*all these 78 of Bolton slayne the 28* of May, 1644 ;*" and "*Wm. Bootle, Capt.*" occurs as the first name in the entry. But the truth of the story is further disproved by the fact that Mr. Bootle, the head of the Bootle family of Melling, at the time of the siege of Bolton, and the ancestor of Sir Thomas Bootle,

* The first unsuccessful attack was made on Tuesday, the 28th, and the second on Wednesday, the 29th.

the subsequent purchaser of Lathom House, was *Thomas Bootle*, not *William Bootle*, as is shewn in Dugdale's *Visitation* of 1644.* There is also another singular anecdote relative to the families of Derby and Bootle which we find in Roberts's MSS. in the British Museum, but which appears to have no foundation for its authenticity beyond what is suggested by the mere coincidence of names ingeniously associated with existing circumstances regardless of truth. This very plausible story is to the effect that Edward the eleventh Earl of Derby had on sale a place near Liverpool, called Bootle, which Sir Thomas Bootle was particularly desirous of. The Earl, however, from jealousy, refused to part with it to the knight of Melling, who sent his lordship word that if he would not let him be Bootle of Bootle, he was resolved to be Bootle of Lathom.

Seacombe, in his account of the siege of Bolton, thus concludes:—"This Action was Performed on the twenty-eighth of May, 1644. And the sudden and surprising Conquest of this Town (just after so smart a repulse), was chiefly attributed to the Courage and Resolution of the Brave Earl of Derby, animated by a just concern of the Sufferings of his Noble Lady and Children, and to the Bravery of the two Hundred Lancashire Men he had the Honour to Command on that Occasion; for all fought with Equal Ardour for the Relief of their Noble Lady Mistress, being all Tenants and Neighbours' Sons, Raised, Cloathed, Armed, and Trained by that Valiant Earl, but ungenerously and Disgracefully taken from him by the King at Worcester;† whose weak and easie Temper proved afterwards the Ruin of himself, and his Brave and Gallant Subject the Earl of Derby, who once, in all appearance, had Interest and Power sufficient, if right use had been made thereof, to have Delivered his Majesty from the Power and Malice of all his Enemies. The Prince having obtained this seasonable Victory over the Rebels in *Bolton*, sent all the Colours taken there by Sir *Richard Lane*‡ to the Lady *Derby*, which her Ladyship received as a singular Honour as well as Comfort, and caused them to be hung up in *Lathom*

* When Sir William Dugdale made his visitation of Lancashire in 1664, Thomas Bootle of Melling was summoned with other gentry of the county, and entered his pedigree, and it appears that the family had then been settled at Melling for four generations, though a family *non arma gerens*, those they assumed, being the property of Ponsouby, Earl of Desborough. This Thomas Bootle was either grandfather or great-grandfather of Sir Thomas Bootle, Knight, the purchaser of Lathom House.

† This undoubtedly should be *Shrewsbury*, and the soldiers here intended were part of the regiment taken from the Earl of Derby and given to Lord Molyneux.

‡ Here again Seacombe is in error, as the colours captured were forwarded to the Countess of Derby, at Lathom, by Sir *Richard Crane*.—Sir Richard Lane seems to have been a lawyer, and "the Prince's solicitor and attorney."—See Lloyd's *Memoirs*.

House, as a happy remembrance of God's Mercy and Goodness to her and her Family."*

Colonel Rigby, who had the chief command of Bolton during the storm, had two captains slain, but he himself escaped with a few of his friends to Bradford, in Yorkshire.

THE SIEGE OF LIVERPOOL.

Having made himself master of Bolton, Prince Rupert remained there till the 31st of May, in order to refresh his soldiers. The Civil War was now raging with intense vigour over the greater part of the country, from the Irish Sea to the German Ocean. The town of Liverpool was in the hands of the Parliamentarians, having been taken in 1643† by the Manchester forces under Colonel Ashton, and was now defended by a strong garrison under the command of Colonel Moore, M.P., for the borough. Prince Rupert, being anxious to reduce and secure Liverpool again to the cause of his Royal uncle, marched from Bolton on the 31st of May, and arrived at Liverpool on the evening of the 1st of June, and commenced the siege on the north side, that being the weakest point. Finding, however, that the attempt to carry the town by assault upon level ground did not promise to be successful, the next day the Prince changed his plan of operations, and removed to Everton, where he encamped on the common, near to and around the Beacon, establishing his head-quarters at a cottage in the village, the site being still known as "Rupert's Cottage." From this eminence the Prince had a fair view of the town; and, after surveying the works somewhat hastily, we are informed he did not hesitate to exclaim that the place was "a mere crow's nest," and might "be taken

* At the sale of the valuable collection of Antiquities of the late Matthew Dawes, Esq., on the 27th February, 1861, a cannon ball, found in the Old, or Private Acres, when that street was first paved, and which it is believed was used at the memorable Siege of Bolton, was bought by the Corporation for 7s., to be deposited in the Museum at Bolton. The ball may now be inspected on application to the Public Librarian. It is 2½ in. in diameter, and weighs 3lbs. ½ oz.

† At this, says one of the Parliamentarians, "one of the ships, under the command of the Earl of Warwick, strooke into the harbour of Leverpoole, into the river Merse, which cometh to the said towne, and put the enemy into a great feare; and although the ship came in rather by accident than with any intent to aid the earl of Derby's forces, yet within two dayes after, the Manchester men having gotten the great street, and planted their ordnance in the church, which commanded the towne, the Popish forces sent in to desire a parley with Colonell Aston, which was commander-in-chiefe of the Manchester forces; upon which hostages were delivered on both sides, and propositions made to Colonell Aston by Colonell Tillesley." These conditions were, the evacuation of the town, carrying with them their arms and ammunition; "which propositions not being consented unto, Colonell Aston made another assault against the enemy, slew many of them, and put them into such confusion, that as many as could fled away in safety, and the rest were forced to yield themselves prisoners." Of 1,600 horse and foot in the town, 300 are said to have been captured, and the rest were obliged to leave behind them the muniments of war."

—See *Exceeding Joyful Newes out of Lancashire*. Lond. 1643.

by a band of children." His subsequent operations, however, against the place compelled his Highness to change his hastily-formed opinion, for he found that the place was rather, "a haunt of eagles, or a den of lions." Seacombe informs us that the town was well fortified by a strong and high mud wall and a ditch, the latter twelve yards wide and nearly three yards deep, which enclosed the town from the east end of Dale-street, and so westward, to the river. At that time Dale-street end, south and south-east, was a low marshy ground covered with water from the river, with which it was connected with that part of the town now known as Paradise-street, and within this marshy ground were erected batteries to cover or guard against all passage over or through the water. All the street ends to the river were entirely shut up, and those to the land enclosed with strong gates, defended by cannon, and all useless women and children were sent to their friends in the country, on both sides of the river. The Castle, on the south, was surrounded by a ditch twelve yards wide and ten yards deep, and from this there was a covered way by which the ditch was filled with water from the sea, and through which, when the tide was out, men, provisions, and war stores were brought as occasion required. In and upon the Castle were planted many cannon, which not only annoyed the besiegers at some distance, but also covered the ships in the harbour. At the entrance there was a fort, defended by eight guns, which also defended the harbour, and served to prevent all passage to the river at low water. Added to these advantages of defence was the unhappy circumstance to many distressed families, that the population of the town had been materially increased by the refugee Protestants, who had three years before fled from the horrible massacre in Ireland, and found a temporary asylum in this place, bringing with them all the effects they possibly could, amongst which was a quantity of wool in packs, and with these packs the garrison covered the top of the mud wall, thus affording to the besieged a security against the balls of the besiegers. The garrison within the town was numerous, and, being well supplied with arms and ammunition of all kinds, was in a position to give the Prince a hearty and fearless welcome. That the Royalists had a difficult work to perform before Liverpool, and one that required much discretion and determination is evident from the *Mercurius Britannicus*, [No. 39, June 17th, 1644] in which the Parliamentary writer states:—"The brave repulse which Colonel More, Governor of Liverpole, gave twice to Rupert (who

assaulted that place with greate fury) is worthy of your notice. The seamen were very active in that service and all are resolute to defend that place against Rupert, the Viper who devours his nourisher. 400 English and Scots are sent from Manchester to Warrington, and from thence by water to Liverpoole, for their better assistance, and the ships in the Harbour are well fitted to defend and make good a part of that town."

The Prince, as already stated, was encamped on the Beacon-hill, then a full mile distant from the town, and his officers were stationed in the adjacent villages, his head-quarters being the cottage on the summit of Everton-hill, already mentioned. From these points the Prince daily sent out detachments to open the trenches and to erect batteries, these batteries being chiefly raised upon the elevated ground, extending from the north of Townsend-mill to Copperas-hill; and entrenchments were also formed in the lower grounds, for the protection of the besiegers. The trenches and batteries were relieved every twenty-four hours, and Prince Rupert pushed forward his operations with great energy, frequently attacking the besieged in the way of storm. Many attempts were made to storm and carry the town, but they were vigorously and effectually repulsed by Colonel More and his garrison, until the fatal night of the 25th, when the Prince, perceiving the north side of the town to be undefended, or but only weakly guarded, concentrated his forces in that particular quarter. The garrison being harassed and weakened by the incessant assaults to which they had been exposed, began gradually to abandon their works to the north. The Prince did not fail to notice this indication of weakness, and about three o'clock on the following morning (June 26th) he carried the town by assault. We are informed that a scene of dreadful carnage now ensued, and the victorious Royalists proceeded onwards until they gained the High-cross, where the present Town-hall and Exchange now stand. In the rental of Sir Edward More (son of the governor of Liverpool), written in 1667, the following appears with respect to the slaughter at the taking of Liverpool:—"Prince Rupert tooke Leverpooll, Whitsontid, 1644, putting to y^e sword for many howres, giving noe quarter, where Carill, y^t now is lord Mullinex, killed 7 or 8 pore men, wth his owne hands. Good Lord deliver us from y^e cruelty of blud-thersty Papist! Amen!"* Colonel More, and the principal inhabitants of the town, escaped with their most

* See Appendix to *Strangers in Liverpool*, p. 290.

valuable effects to the ships, which were lying at anchor in the mouth of the river. The remainder of the garrison (a regiment of soldiers from the Castle) being drawn up in battle array, at the High-cross, beat a parley, and demanded quarter, which was granted on condition that the troops should become prisoners of war, and that the Castle should be surrendered, with all the artillery and ammunition, into the hands of the Royalists. Such of the Parliamentary officers and men who failed to make their escape were sent to the Tower, St. Nicholas's Church, now known as the Old Church, or the Parochial Chapel of St. Nicholas, and other places of security; and Prince Rupert himself took possession of the Castle.*

The reduction of Liverpool being effected, previously to his march towards York, Prince Rupert, at the request of Lord Derby, proceeded from Liverpool to Lathom House, which he found, on his arrival, had been much shattered and pierced by the cannon and mortar-pieces of the Parliamentarians during the three months' siege to which it had been so unmercifully subjected, but so nobly and heroically defended by the Countess of Derby. The Prince, during his short stay at Lathom, examined minutely the state and strength of the mansion, and directed, for its future defence, the addition of bastions, counterscarps, and other outworks, which, when completed, under the direction of the engineers, gave to the mansion the character of a regular fortress. These orders having been given, at the request of the Countess of Derby, Prince Rupert appointed Captain Edward Rawstorne (whom he raised to the rank of colonel of foot) to be governor of the fortress of Lathom House, and gave him two troops of horse for its defence. The Prince having given these instructions, next pressed upon the Earl of Derby the desirability of returning to the Isle of Man, a piece of advice so inconsistent with the interests of the King and the Royal cause in Lancashire generally, that it is quite impossible at this distance of time to reconcile it with the presumed loyalty of the King's advisers, whose jealousy and hatred of the Earl of Derby appear to have been so deeply rooted that disaster itself and continued loyalty on the part of the Earl could not bring

* In the year 1721 the Castle of Liverpool, after having braved the storms of seven centuries, disappeared, and St. George's Church, at the top of Lord-street, now stands upon the ancient site. The Castle consisted of embattled walls, fortified to the south with three circular towers, and surrounded by a deep and broad ditch, over which was thrown a draw-bridge to the north, and several small houses were built on the walls for the accommodation of the garrison. The custody of the fortress was for a succession of ages confined to the "noble and knightly" family of Molineux, whose chief seat at Sefton was given to Vivian de Molineux, by Roger of Poitiers, who held, as appears from Domesday Book, all the land between the Ribble and the Mersey.—See *Gregson's Fragments*.

them to their senses. This jealousy appears to some to have been well understood by Prince Rupert, and, therefore, we are told, he urged the Earl to a compliance with the request and to take his lady and children with him for safety. Whatever motive may have suggested this proposal to the Prince, whether it was the jealousy of the Court or the respect he had for the noble Countess and her children, it was complied with by the Earl, and arrangements were made that the whole of the family should proceed to the Isle of Man so soon as circumstances would permit.

After giving the orders for the fortification of Lathom House, and making arrangements with the Earl of Derby respecting his family, Prince Rupert (his soldiers being recruited and refreshed), departed from Lathom to join the Royal army under the command of the Marquis of Newcastle, then at York. According to Dr. Whitaker, the march into Yorkshire was conducted in two divisions;* and in the *Mercurius Belgicus* mention is made of two skirmishes, one at Blackburn on the 20th of June, and the second near Colne on the 25th of June, in both of which actions Sir Charles Lucas commanded Prince Rupert's troops, and the Parliamentarians were under the command of Colonel Shuttleworth, who is said to have been wounded in the second skirmish. The Royalists engaged in these two skirmishes must have proceeded towards York after the reduction of Bolton, and the second division probably comprised the forces engaged in the taking of Liverpool, and who marched from Lathom under the command of Prince Rupert himself. The Parliamentarians appear to have been anxious to arrest the successful progress of Prince Rupert in Lancashire, and a public print of that time informs us that "the noble generall there (meaning Lord Manchester, who was then in Yorkshire at the head of the Parliamentary army) well weighing the sadde condition of Lancashire through the daily pressures and cruelties of the enemy, had sent 6,000 horse, 2,000 dragoons, and about 5,000 foot, under the command of the truly valiant Sir Thomas Fairfax and Major General Lesley, to joyn with Sir John Meldrum's forces at Manchester, making altogether 20,000 men to attend the motions of Prince Rupert, and are resolved to fight him the first opportunity, or pursue him, which way soever he takes."† The tidings of the advance of Prince Rupert on York, however, seems to have caused this determination of the Parliamentarians to be countermanded, for

* *Whalley*, p. 383.

† *Perfect Diurnal*, No. 48, 24th June—1 July.

we find that Fairfax, having operated with success in Yorkshire, had been joined by Manchester, with his lieutenant, Oliver Cromwell, and that the forces commanded by Manchester, Leven, and Fairfax being united into an army of about 25,000, besieged the town of York, which was bravely defended by the Marquis of Newcastle, but his forces were greatly inferior in number to those of the Parliamentarians, whose overwhelming forces reduced the town to extremity, the Parliamentary generals flattering themselves that all their labours would at last be crowned by this important victory. The object of the Parliamentarians, however, was not destined to be so easily achieved, for just as Newcastle was upon the point of surrendering, Prince Rupert approached with an army of 20,000 men, and being joined by Sir Charles Lucas, who commanded the Marquis of Newcastle's horse, he hastened to the relief of York. The Scottish and Parliamentary generals raised the siege, and drawing up their forces on Marston-Moor, near Tadcaster, determined to give battle to the Royalists. The Prince defeated the manœuvres of the Parliamentary generals, however, and, taking another route, interposed the river Ouse between himself and the enemy, and so safely entered the besieged city, and joined his forces to those of the Duke of Newcastle. The Prince immediately resolved upon a battle, but Newcastle endeavoured to persuade him, that, having so successfully effected his purpose, he ought to be content for the present with the advantage gained, and leave the enemy, now somewhat dismayed and discouraged, to dissolve by those mutual dissensions which had begun to take place amongst them. The martial and impetuous disposition of the Prince, not always tempered with prudence, would not, however, listen to the opposite counsels of Newcastle, and, pretending positive orders from the King, he treated Newcastle with almost insolent disdain, and issued immediate orders for battle, in which his presumption was destined to be speedily chastised.

The Prince led out his army on to Marston-Moor on the 2nd July. The two armies mustered about 25,000 each. The action commenced about seven o'clock in the evening, and for three hours 50,000 British troops were engaged in mutual slaughter. Prince Rupert, who commanded the right wing of the Royalists, says Rushworth, was opposed to Oliver Cromwell, who conducted the choice troops of the Parliament. After a sharp contest the cavalry of the Royalists gave way before Cromwell's invincible Ironsides, and such of the infantry

as fought next them were likewise borne down and put to flight: Rupert's standard was taken, and his squadrons were utterly broken; and Newcastle's regiment alone, determined to conquer or perish, obstinately kept their ground, and maintained by their dead bodies the same order in which they had at first been ranged. Sir Thomas Fairfax and Colonel Lambert having charge of the other wing, with their troops dashed through the Royalists, and soon joined their victorious friends now engaged in the pursuit of the Royalists; but no sooner had the Parliamentarians passed through the Royalist wing, commanded by Sir Charles Lucas, than he restored order amongst his broken forces, and making a furious attack on the Parliamentary cavalry, threw them into disorder, and drove them upon their own infantry, and put the whole wing into confusion and route; but just as the Royalists were about to seize on the carriages and baggage of the enemy, Lucas perceived Cromwell, who had returned from the pursuit of the other wing. A second contest was now commenced, equally desperate on both sides as the first, and which resulted, as the first, in the victory of the Parliamentarians, and thus the whole army of the Royalists was pushed off the field of battle, leaving three thousand killed and fifteen hundred prisoners. Prince Rupert, now defeated and sorely punished for his temerity, fled to York, whither the Marquis of Newcastle had also fled, where, we are told, they exchanged messages during the night, but did not meet: "I have resolved to depart with my horse, and as many foot as are left," was the message sent by Prince Rupert to Newcastle; and Newcastle's reply was, "I am going forthwith to the sea-side to depart for the continent."* The Prince retired into Cheshire; and Newcastle having repaired to Scarborough, left the country. The *Weekly Account*, of the 24th July, 1644, notices a letter of Sir William Brereton, in which he confirms the news of the surrender of York, and writes that "Prince Rupert is gone into Lancashire, and as they heare about Preston, and by his rallied Horse and other northern forces, joined with him, he is thought to be about 600 strong—and is afterwards said to have passed at Hayle-ford to Cheshire." York capitulated within a fortnight, and with it the entire north was lost to the King.

In the south the King had been more successful, for although he had nearly been shut up in Oxford by the armies of Essex and Waller, the rivalry of those commanders having prevent-

* Newcastle lived to see the restoration of the monarchy, and performed the office of carver at the coronation of Charles II. He died in 1667.

ed strict co-operation, his Majesty succeeded in passing their forces with a considerable army, and thereby effected their separation. The King then turned round on Waller's forces, and defeated them at Copraby-bridge, near Banbury, on the 29th of June. The King then followed Essex into Cornwall, where the infantry, under Essex, capitulated on the 2nd of September, Essex himself, with a few of his officers, escaping by sea in a boat to Plymouth. This event was followed by a second battle at Newbury, on the 27th of October, when the entire strength of both parties was engaged, and each claimed the victory. This contest terminating the year's campaign, Charles took up his winter quarters at Oxford.

Almost immediately after the battle of Marston-Moor, the Parliamentarians, flushed with victory, returned into Lancashire, and the second siege of Lathom House was at once decided upon. Of the precise time that the Earl and Countess of Derby left Lathom House for the Isle of Man, according to the advice of Prince Rupert previous to his disastrous march into Yorkshire, we are not informed. A general impression appears to have prevailed amongst the Parliamentarians that the Earl and his Countess were in Lathom House until the month of September, and the *London Post*, of September 10th, 1644, states, "The Earle of Derby is now in the House." If the Earl of Derby and his Countess were not at Lathom House at the commencement of the second siege, their departure for the Isle of Man must have immediately followed the departure of Prince Rupert for York, as the second advance of the besiegers against Lathom House is fixed as having taken place in July, 1644, with four thousand men under General Egerton; but, in consequence of a successful sally from the fortress, the Parliamentarians received so severe a check as to have rendered them for twelve months unwilling to advance nearer than Ormskirk. The general opinion, however, is that the Earl and his Countess retired with their children to the Isle of Man previously to the commencement of the second siege, leaving Lathom House to the protection of the new governor, Colonel Rawstorne, with whom were associated his lordship's domestic chaplain, Archdeacon Rutter, and another gentleman, owing to whose judicious proceedings a considerable sum of money was raised on his lordship's estates, by which the garrison was furnished with provisions, ammunition, and other necessities for defence.

The Parliamentary troops were now pouring into Lancashire in pursuit of the retreating Royalists. On the 20th of August,

according to a letter in the *Perfect Diurnal*, No. 57, a battle was fought near Ormskirk, and is thus described:—"Sir,—The 20 of this instant the Lancashire* forces near Armeskirke beat the whole strength of the Enemy, took about 300 prisoners, 500 Horse, killed about 100, and forced the rest into Chester,† intending to follow them; and have taken Colonell Hervey, besides 7 Captains and many other considerable prisoners: and Sir Thomas Tilsley [Tildesley] and Colonell Preston are either kild or fled privately; for except their corps were among the dead, and being stript, not known, which may be, we cannot tell what has become of them." In *Perfect Occurrences*, of August 28th, 1644, there is another letter, and, like the foregoing, written by a Parliamentarian, giving the results of the battle near Ormskirk, and is as follows:—"Sir,—On Tuesday in the Evening (August 20) our Generall [Major-General Meldrum] overtook the enemy near *Armes-church*, where they stood in Battalia, and after some few foote of Colonell *Booth's* had give fire upon them, they faced about and fled; our Horse bravely following upon them totally routed them. In the pursuit we took 1000 Horse; a list of some of the chief, I have here inclosed. The Lord *Byron* and the Lord *Mollineux* were forced to forsake their Horse, and hide themselves in the Corn Field. A List of the names of the chief Prisoners taken: Col. Sir Thomas Prestwick, Lieut. Col. Cottington, Capt. James Anderton, Capt. Ecclestone, Butler, Capt., Brooks, Capt., Lee, Capt., Atherton, Capt., M. Worthington, Esq., Abraham Laughton, Esq., Lieut. Sturbane, Lieut. Thom. Massock, John de Hurst, Lieut., John Mogrow, Lieut., Walt. Chamberlain, Lieut., Nathaniel Jones, Lieut., Cornet Will. Johnson, Edw. Stanley, Corn., Rich. Wright, Corn., Hen. Gillibrand, Corn., Pet. Brand, Gent. of Arms, Wil. Scot, Gent., Tho. Sherborn, Gent., James Noiceco, Gent., Arthur Butler, Gent., Tho. Wetton, Gent., John Foxe, Gent., Master Marshall, Gent., Quarter Master Nocio, James Brown, Quarterm., John Fulme, Clerk, James Bond, Clerk, Abraham Jones;" also (according to *A True Relation of the Great Victories*, London, 4to, 1644) "about 250 common souldiers."

On Monday, the 26th of August, "Letters were read directed to the Speaker of the House of Commons, declaring that Lord Ogleby† and Col. Hudleston, marching towards *Lathom* House in Lancashire, encountered with Colonell *Doddington*§ not far from *Preston*, and at first the dispute was very difficult, but Colonell *Shuttleworth* receiving an

* Parliamentarians. † Cheshire. ‡ Lord Ogilvie.
 § Colonel George Dodding of Conishead.

alarm upon this engagement (his quarters being neere), delayed not any time to rescue the first undertakers; upon whose approach Colonell *Doddington's* men were put in great courage, and these two valiant Colonells being joined together, charged the enemy with such brave resolution, that they were put into disorder, and many of them slaine in the place. The enemy's party, consisting of about 400 Horse, of which number was taken about 50 and 40 prisoners; the rest being totally routed, thought to have secured themselves in flying to *Lathom House*, but finding the siege there well maintained, were most of them taken in the action; the men of note which were taken prisoners, were the Lord Ogleby himselfe, Lieut. Col. Hudleston, Mr. Maxfield, and Cornet Grimes."*

In Rushworth's *Collections*, the date of this action is fixed on August 15th, and as it preceded that near Ormskirk on the 20th, the Royalist troops engaged on the 20th must have been, for the most part, those engaged on the 15th near Preston. That they were the remains of the Lancashire Royalist regiments who had accompanied or preceded Prince Rupert to York there can be no doubt, for we are told that Sir Thomas Middleton surprised the King's forces at Oswestry, "taking ammunition intended for Liverpool, Chester, &c.; to regain which, about 2,000 of Prince Rupert's Horse which some time before broke through Lancashire, reinforced with foot, and in all about 4,000, under the command of Lord Byron, advanced towards Montgomery on Sep. 17th, and sustained a defeat from the Parliament's forces strengthened by Meldrum, Brereton, and Sir William Fairfax."†. The command of Lord Byron and the capture of Colonel Sir Thomas Tildesley, who were both in the battle near Ormskirk, shew, beyond all doubt, the presence of the remains of the Lancashire Royalist regiments in this engagement.

In the same year, on the 16th of October, we are also informed that a skirmish took place at Ormskirk between the Royalist and the Parliamentary soldiers, which is denominated "*Ormskirk Fight*." In this engagement, among the slain, was John, son of Sir Thomas Haggerston, of Haggerston Castle, Northumberland, who married Alice, daughter of Henry Banister, of Bank.

It has already been observed that the

SECOND SIEGE OF LATHOM HOUSE

was commenced in July, 1644, the Parliamentarians having

* *Perfect Diurnal*, No. 57.

† *Rushworth*, part iii., vol. 2, p. 747.

taken up their head quarters at Ormskirk, under the command of General Egerton, whilst a considerable force of their troops was encamped on Aughton Moss, on and around the estate now known as "Trenchfield," being about half-a-mile from Ormskirk, on the Prescott-road, and near Aughton Moss Mill.* The officers in the fortress of Lathom House, under the command of Colonel Rawstorne,† were—officers of cavalry, Major Munday and Captain Key; of infantry, Captains Charnock, Farrington, Molyneux Radcliffe, Henry Nowel, Worrall, and Roby.

Seacombe informs us that Colonel Rawstorne, the governor of Lathom House, having received information of General Egerton's advance against the mansion with 4,000 men, ordered out a strong party of horse and foot, the former under the command of Major Munday, and the latter under the command of Captain Molyneux Radcliffe, the governor himself bringing up the rear, and that in this order they attacked the Parliamentary camp and quarters with so much courage, resolution, and bravery, that they took all their guards, both horse and foot, and routed the whole body, killing and taking many prisoners, General Egerton himself escaping with great difficulty "by flying away in his shirt and slippers." In this sally the Royalists captured the enemy's magazine of powder at Ormskirk, which they conveyed back with them to Lathom, and afterwards proved of great service to them in the defence of the place. Notwithstanding that the Parliamentarians were being daily increased in numbers, the Royalists continued masters of the field for three weeks, and almost every day for twelve months bravely sallied forth into the enemy's quarters, which so annoyed and checked their progress in the siege that for twelve months they got no nearer to Lathom with their works than Ormskirk.

At the beginning of September, the *London Post* observes, in Lancashire "There are but two garrisons only which now resist the Parliament, which are the garrisons of *Liverpole* and *Lathom*. From *Liverpole* we are informed that they are in good possibility to submit with speede to the mercy of the Parliament. The noble Sir John Meldrum with great suc-

* The late esteemed proprietor of "Trenchfield," James Culshaw, Esq., J.P., about twenty years ago, divided the field called "Trenchfield," which is situated on the west side of the house, into two plots, and in the plot next to the outbuildings traces of a trench made during the Civil War may still be seen. From this trench the estate takes its name.

† Colonel Edward Rawstorne, of New Hall, married, first, Helen, daughter of Radcliffe Ashton, of Cuerdale, Esq., and secondly, Mary, daughter of Greenhalgh, of Brandlesome, Esq., but died issueless, and was succeeded by his brother, Lawrence Rawstorne, Esq., from whom is descended the Rev. W. E. Rawstorne, M.A., the late respected vicar of Ormskirk, but now the incumbent of Penwortham.

cesse hath made his approaches to it by land, and brought the siege very neer unto their walls. Colonel More, who was the governor of it before Prince Rupert made it acknowledge another master, hath besieged it by sea. The sad inhabitants from both elements are deeply distressed; and finding no hope of reliefe, it is thought they will speedily acknowledge another master and a better government. The siege of *Lathom* House is still continued, and they now fear no Prince *Rupert* to necessitate them to raise the siege. The Earl of *Derby* is now in the House."

With respect to the latter statement of the writer, that the Earl of *Derby* was at *Lathom* in September, there appears no very good foundation for accepting it. The Castle of *Liverpool*, however, did again fall into the hands of the Parliamentarians early in the month of November, owing to the treachery of the garrison; and Prince *Rupert* had soon the mortification to see all the other strongholds he had so recently obtained in Lancashire, retaken. The garrison at *Liverpool* having been much reduced, and the officers refusing to give up the town, about fifty of the English soldiers, two or three days before the surrender of the place, made their escape out of the garrison, taking along with them all the cattle they met with in their progress, and went to *Sir John Meldrum*, which, the remainder of the garrison perceiving, being mostly Irish, and fearing that they would be exempt from quarter, seized upon all their commanders, and on the first of November delivered up the town to Colonel *Meldrum*, laying their own lives down at his feet, and thus the town and the castle were lost to the Royalists, who also had taken two colonels, two lieutenant-colonels, three majors, fourteen captains, and a great store of ordnance, arms, and ammunition. The Royalists, to avoid being plundered, had shipped off all their valuables and best goods, intending to carry them to *Beaumaris*, which was made known by the Irish to General *Meldrum*, who "manned out long boats, and took and made great booty thereof." In a letter addressed by Lord *Byron* to the Marquis of *Ormonde*, dated *Chester Castle*, Nov. 16, 1644, some of the details and results of this act of treachery connected with the fall of *Liverpool* are noticed. His lordship observes—"My Lord, I must by these give your excellency a sad account of the loss of *Liverpool*, through the treachery of the common soldiers, who, not pressed with any great want, but of loyalty and courage, most basely gave up the town and their officers to the mercy of the rebels. I had furnished Captain *Lloyd's*

frigate with a new supply of victuals for the town, which would have held out in spite of all their pains, but before the relief could come they had put guards upon my brother and all the officers; and sent out two wights, one of mine, the corporal of my brother's regiment, to make conditions with Meldrum, which were to deliver up all their officers prisoners, and themselves to take up arms for the rebels, or be transported to Ireland for the service of the rebels there; some few of them have since fallen into my hands, upon whom I have done justice, and if any of them hereafter shall be taken by the * * * * I humbly desire they may be made an example of. My brother Reuben is now a prisoner at Manchester with some of his officers, the rest being dispersed into the garrisons of the rebels, and I am so impoverished as at this time to have no exchange for him here." Vicars (*Parl. Chron.*, iv., p. 62) mentions among the prisoners at Liverpool Sir Robert [Reuben?] Byron, governor, and Colonel Cuthbert Clifton. The yielding up of Liverpool was made one of the subjects of thanksgiving on the Tuesday following, being Nov. 5. Liverpool being again in the hand of the Parliamentarians, Colonel Birch was appointed governor; and Lathom House now became the most prominent object in Lancashire for the attention of the Parliamentarians, who were assembled in great force at Ormskirk, and were still increasing in numbers.

For some months after the commencement of the second siege of Lathom House, such were the spirited and daring sallies of the garrison, that the position of the Parliamentarians at Ormskirk was just as much besieged by the Royalists as Lathom House was by the Parliamentarians, and many incidents are recorded which give more than a merely ordinary interest to the local history with which they are associated.

The chaplain, the Rev. S. Rutter, we are informed, carried on all the correspondence and information by cipher, and in conducting this important duty he made use of one widow Read, belonging to the neighbourhood, to take in and carry out dispatches, her admittance into the house being accomplished by sallies, appointed for the purpose, upon a signal given by her to the garrison when she wished to communicate anything of importance to the garrison. This hazardous and important service she carried on for more than a year, but was at last unfortunately captured by the Parliamentarians, having ciphers about her person, some being for the King, some for Lord Byron, who was at Chester, and others for correspondents

at Manchester. On being required to state to whom at Manchester the ciphers were directed, she stoutly refused to divulge the secret, and, notwithstanding the threats of severe punishment, she maintained her fidelity, which so enraged the enemy that, we are told, "she was burnt with matches between her fingers, so long that three fingers of each hand were burnt off," and yet she would not disclose anything.

Of the officers most honourable mention is made of Captain Molyneux Radcliffe, of the infantry, who gallantly commanded in the van in twelve sallies, and always brought off his men with success and honour.

Major Munday, one day during the siege, being challenged to fight his troop against a troop of the besiegers, cheerfully accepted the challenge, and "both troops were drawn out into the park, in the sight of the house and the enemy's army. In the engagement the major received a shot in the side of his face, by which an artery being cut, he bled excessively; he therefore desired the lieutenant to make good the fight until he got the artery sewed up. The fight was made good till the major returned, and then upon the first charge the enemy fled, and he took most of the troop prisoners." On another occasion Captain Key,* we are told, was also challenged by a trumpet, "to fight hand to hand on horseback with one Captain Asmall, of the Parliamentary party. The challenge was accepted, and the troops met in the park, but stood spectators whilst their captains were engaged. In the contest Captain Asmall having discharged both his pistols at Captain Key without serious effect, Captain Key immediately rode up to him, and thrust him through his neck with his javelin, when Asmall fell from his horse dead; and Captain Key, having alighted from his horse, raised up the body of the lifeless captain in the face of his own troop, and having thrown him across his horse conveyed him into the house." After this, Captain Key's lieutenant threw down the gauntlet to fight Captain Asmall's lieutenant, hand to hand, or troop to troop, but this was refused, and the Parliamentarians returned to Ormskirk where they joined the main body of the besieging party.

* Captain William Key, or Kay, served in both sieges at Lathom House; and at Cobhouse, Walmersley, in the parish of Bury, of which place the gallant captain is said to have been a resident, and which house is still occupied by the Key family, under the Earl of Derby, there are still preserved an old rapier or dagger, a set of bells bearing the initials, "W. K.," and a set of bedsteads and other furniture of the period, all supposed to have been the property of Captain Key. In the old part of Cobhouse are the arms of Charles I. and the Stanley arms on the wall, and also several short sentences, but the words are now very difficult to make out. Captain Key is supposed to have been killed in the Battle of Wigan Lane, as there is no mention of him after that event.

The chaplain having lost his old friend, widow Read, next hit upon another expedient for conducting the correspondence. Having frequently noticed a hound dog go backwards and forwards from his master, who was engaged in the defence of Lathom House, to his mistress, who resided about three miles distant, he privately communicated with the loyal lady, and arranged that "as oft as the dog came home she should look about his neck, and she would find a thread with a little paper wrapped about, which she was to send to the King, and that when she received any papers directed to come into the house, she was to tie them about the dog's neck, and, after keeping him without meat for a short time, to open the door and beat him out of the house, and thus send him hungry to Lathom House with his messages." In this manner, we are told, the dog being beaten backwards and forwards, "conveyed all intelligence into and from the house for nine months." One day, however, being seen leaping over the besiegers' works, this faithful, but unconscious bearer of important dispatches, was shot by one of the enemy's soldiers, and thus the rev. gentleman and the garrison at Lathom lost the services of their useful messenger.

The labours of the chaplain continued most incessant and eminently useful. Having lost his dog, another expedient occurred to him, which, although it did not supply in all respects the service of the dog, yet, it is said, was attended with greater advantage to the garrison. The chaplain having opened a correspondence with some trusty friends in the neighbourhood, these agreed to make fires in the night upon the rising grounds at a distance from the house, as signals that corn, meal, and other provisions were laid there ready for the garrison. On the appearance of these signals, the governor of the house sent thirty or forty soldiers, by way of sally, to bring in the provisions thus deposited for them. Seacombe observes that "the allowance of corn, meal, &c., thus brought into the house, was distributed and divided in the most equal manner, from the governor to the meanest soldier. Three-quarters of a pound was weighed to each man alike; the horses that were killed in the service they broiled upon coals, and frequently eat without either bread or salt. That which proved a great relief to them was plenty of fuel; for the colliers being set to dig, by way of trial, found coals and water in abundance within the house, to their great comfort, the water in the moat being spoiled and rendered unfit for use by the enemy. There was amongst the soldiers about

£50 in money, but of no use at all to them but to play at span-counter with. They lent it to one another by handfuls, never telling or counting any. One day one soldier had all, and the next another."

Notwithstanding the exertions of the besiegers, and although they had used every precaution to prevent supplies being taken into the house, by the formation of trenches, the erection of forts, and other works, it was not until the beginning of July of 1645 that the Parliamentarians had any success to report. On the 11th of July, 1645, *Perfect Occurrences* contained the following important announcement, in which a small garrison of Royalists, reported to be Irish, who were bravely engaged at the Lodge near Lathom House in the cause of their King, are called "rebels:"—

"Munday, July 7.—This day there came newes of the good successe of our forces in Lancashire against the enemies that nest in the garrisons at the Earl of Derby's house. They kept there three garrisons. One is Lathom House itself; a second is a gentleman's house, and a third is a house called the Lodge; both within cannon shot of the first; and that garrison called the Lodge was kept by Irish rebels ever since we toke Lerpole (as I take it), for those rebels were they that had quarter given them when we took Liverpoole.

"Our forces having blocked up those rebels in this garrison, sent them a summons to deliver up the said garrison to the Parliament, but they refused, saying they would keep it for their good King by whose authority they were put in there. Whereupon our forces placed their batteries, and plaid upon the House, and having made some breaches in it, marched up close to the enemy and stormed them: and it was a very hot fight of both sides for the time it lasted, and we had divers hurt and some slaine, as in so hot a storme as that was could not be avoided; but our men followed on so gallantly, that notwithstanding the violent opposition of the rebels, yet our men brake in upon them, killed and tooke them alle. So farre as they can perceive, a man escaped them not, of which good successe here followeth the list.

"A list of what was taken, and how many slaine in the Enemies Garrison called the Lodge, at the Earl of Derbies at Lathom House in Lancashire:—40 killed in the garrison; divers wounded, some mortally; 60 taken prisoners; the Governor hurt and taken; 12 officers more killed and taken; 1 supposed Popish priest taken; 100 arms taken in the garrison; 2 barrels of gunpowder, some skeans of match; all their

bag and baggage, divers Popish bookes, beades, and crucifixes ; all the men, Irish rebels, that keep it.

“ Another house is closely besieged by Major Ashurst, and he hath planted pieces of batterie against it, and Lathom House also is still besieged.”

It is somewhat remarkable that in the foregoing account of the taking of the Lodge, no names are given of any of the officers killed, wounded, or taken prisoners—not even the name of the “ Governor hurt and taken.” The writer appears to be satisfied on the point that all were Irish, who had found a shelter in the Lodge at Lathom after the surrender of Liverpool.

In the beginning of the year 1645, before commencing the campaign, the King sent his son, the Prince of Wales, then only fourteen years of age, into the west, conferring on him the title of generalissimo, and committing him to the care of Hyde, from which time he never saw either of them again. Shortly after this the King marched out of Oxford, where he had passed the winter, and having effected a junction with Prince Rupert, advanced into the midland counties, and, on the 14th of June, fought and lost the battle of Naseby, in Northamptonshire. The King commanded in person, having under his charge the main body of the Royalists; Prince Rupert led the horse on the right wing, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale commanded on the left. Fairfax, seconded by Skippon, commanded the centre of the Parliamentary army, Cromwell the right, and Ireton, Cromwell’s son-in-law, the left. The numbers engaged on each side were nearly equal. Rupert, with that non-calculating impetuosity, which marred all his generalship, bore down the squadrons opposed to him, and, disregarding the fate of the battle, lost the opportunity of summoning and attacking the artillery of the enemy, which had been left with a good guard of infantry. Fairfax and Cromwell soon broke the divisions they attacked, and then devoted themselves to the general action. Rupert having found out the error of his rashness, but too late, declined an attack on the enemy’s artillery, and joined the King, whose infantry was now dispirited and in confusion. The King exhorted the body of his cavalry not to despair, crying out to them, “ One charge more and we recover the day,” but such a charge was impossible, and if possible, would have been fruitless. Fairfax and Cromwell were entire masters of the field, and Charles was obliged to quit the scene of battle, and leave the victory to the enemy, who followed him closely to the gates at Leicester,

whence the King proceeded the same evening to Ashby-de-la-Zouch. The number of slain on the side of the Parliament was greater than that of the Royalists. Scarcely more than 500 Royalists were killed in the action, but nearly 5,000 were taken prisoners; and all the King's artillery, ammunition, and baggage, more than 100 flags, the royal standard, and the King's cabinet, containing the copies of his letters to the Queen, which the Parliament afterwards ordered to be published, and other important documents fell into the hands of the Parliamentarians.

The King, with a body of horse, retreated into Wales, where he remained for some time, expecting to raise a body of infantry, with the object of advancing with these and transferring the war into Lancashire, and on his way relieving the loyal garrison at Lathom House. Not being able, however, to effect his object, owing to a defeat of his own troops on Rowton Heath, near Chester, on the 24th of September, and the garrison at Lathom being reduced to extremities for want of the munitions of war and the common necessities of life, the King, through the chaplain, advised that a commission should be appointed by both parties to treat of terms for a surrender of Lathom House. On this advice commissioners were appointed on both sides, and it is stated that in the first instance the besiegers offered, "That if the governor and officers with him would surrender the house and all the cannon they should be permitted to march away with bag and baggage, drums beating, and colours flying; and that the Lady Derby and her children should enjoy the third part of the Earl's estate, for their maintenance; and that all his goods should be safely conveyed to his other house at Knowsley, and there secured for his lordship and family's use; that all gentlemen in the house should compound at one year's value for their estates; and that every clergyman in the house should enjoy half the revenue of his living and should live quietly without any oath imposed upon them."

These stipulations are said to have been deemed reasonable by two of the commissioners appointed by the garrison, but the third objected unless the garrison might take the cannon away with them. This being made known to the garrison, disaffection resulted, and, the same night, an Irish soldier in the garrison went down by the wall, and swimming the moat, made his way to the enemy's camp, and betrayed the state of the garrison to the commanding officers there, informing them that there was not bread in the house for two days, nor any

other provisions or stores to hold out the siege any longer. The next morning a peremptory summons to surrender on bare terms of mercy was accepted tumultuously, the governor, Colonel Rawstorne, not being heard in his entreaties to the contrary, which were that they should join him and cut their way, sword in hand, through the Parliamentary forces, and in that way save themselves with honour and reputation, or bravely die in the attempt.

The terms on which Lathom House surrendered are, however, differently stated in the *Perfect Diurnal* newspaper under the date of December 8th, 1645 :—

Saturday, Dec. 6.—“ This evening after the House was up, there came letters to the Speaker of the Commons House, of the surrender of Lathom House in Lancashire, belonging to the Earl of Derby, which his Lady, the Countess of Derby, proving herself of the two the better souldier, hath above these two yeares kept in opposition to our forces that blocked up the same, but it is now surrendered, and by which means the whole county of Lancashire is absolutely freed and reduced under the obedience of the Parliament, the enemy having not any one garrison in that county.

“ The taking of the place gives faire probability of the more speedy reducing of *Chester*, whither, no doubt, these Lancashire forces will next move to assist the besiegers, or else against Skipton in Yorkshire, as there shall be occasion.

“ The conditions agreed on at the surrender of the place were briefly thus : •

“ The governour alone to have his horse, armes, and £10 in money. The rest, both officers and soldiers, to march away without armes or money, to the next garrison of the King's, either Sidbury or Ashby-de-la-Zouch, and those that would to have liberty to go to their own dwellings.

“ There were taken in the House 12 pieces of Ordnance, all their armes and ammunition, and great store of rich prize and pillage.”

It may be interesting to the reader to know that a copy of the conditions of the surrender of Lathom House (stated to be transcribed verbatim from a MS. at Browsholme Hall, in the possession of T. L. Parker, Esq.), is to be found in Gregson's *Lancashire Fragments*. These conditions of the surrender are dated Dec. 2nd, and stipulate for the place being surrendered on the succeeding day ; but Ryves (*Mercurius Belgicus*) fixes the date of the actual surrender on Dec. 4th, 1645. The following is a copy of the conditions as thus

transcribed from the Browsholme Hall MS., and cannot fail to be acceptable to the reader :—

“Articles off Agreement made and concluded vppon the 2d day of December, 1645, between Coll. John Booth, Commander in Chieffe off the siege before Lathome-house on the one part, and Coll. Roger Nowell, Coll. Edw. Veare, Peter Trauers, C. Walker, and Andrew Broome, Gent. Com^{rs}. authorised to treate and determine for and on the behalfe of Coll. Edw. Rawstorne, Gouvernour off the garrison off Lathome concerneinge the deliuiery vp off the house.

“I.—Itt is agreed vppon betweene the said p’ties that the said house of Lathome with all the horse, plate, jewells, moneys, armes, ordinance, ammunitiion, goods, and cattell therein (without imbezilment, spoileinge, or defaceinge) shall bee deliuered vp into the hands off the said Coll. Booth (or into the hands off such as hee shall appoint) for the vse off his matie and the Parl^t before 3 off the clocke to-morrow in the afternoone, together with all writinges and evidences within the same garrison.

“II.—Itt is further agreed vppon that the said gouvernour off Lathome shall haue libertie to march vnto the garrison off Abberconway, with his own horse, sword, and pistolls, and tenn povnds in money. And all the officers belongeinge vnto the said garrison off Lathome aboue the degree off a lieftenant shall march with their swords only vnto the said garrison off Abberconway, and the rest of the officers and soldiers to march thither without armes, and to haue a sufficient convoy to bringe them within a convenient distance off that place.

“III.—Itt is alsoe agreed on that Coll. Roger Nowell and Coll. Edward Veare shall march away vnto the said garrison of Abberconway with 2 such horses and furniture for the same as shall be appointed for them by the said Coll. Booth, together with £5 apiece in moneys. And all others within the said garrison off Lathome, excepting Mr. Sherrington, Mr. Heath, and Mr. Ellise Heyes, whoe are to yield themselves prisoners vnto the said Coll. Booth, are to march away vnto the said garrison off Abberconway without armes, or to the committee off this County off Lancaster to make their peace with them.

“IV.—Itt is further agreed on that Mr. Coote, John Rice, Humphrey Nelson, and Henerie Holme, together with all women and children in the house shall haue libertie to liue att their seuerall habitations, or att some ffrinds houses neere vnto the said garrison off Lathome vntil further order bee giuen by the committee off the county.

"V.—And lastly itt is agreed on that all the prisoners within the said garrison off Lathome shall bee freely sett at libertie before to-morrow at 3 off the clocke in the afternoone, and that such sicke persons as are within the said house shall bee carefully disposed off vntill they bee able to march.

"In Witnesse,

"ROGER NOWELL EDW. VEARE	PETER TRAUERS ANDREW BROOME."
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On whatever terms the mansion of Lathom was surrendered, the garrison had made a protracted and able defence against the determined and vigorous assaults of the Parliamentarians, which proved that the confidence of the Countess had not been misplaced in Colonel Rawstorne and his brave band of defenders: and certain it is that the history of the siege of Lathom House and the honoured name of Charlotte de la Tremouille, Countess of Derby, will endure as an example of conjugal affection and disinterested loyalty as long as history itself remains to publish it to the world.

During the two sieges, which lasted nearly two years, the Parliamentarians are reckoned to have lost 6,000 men, while the loss on the side of the garrison was only about 400.

The joy of the Parliamentarians, consequent upon the surrender of Lathom House, was almost unbounded. The *Scottish Dove*, a newspaper of that time, thus shows its spirit and the inaccuracy of its intelligence respecting the heroic Countess and her whereabouts at the time of the surrender of the garrison. The writer observes, Lathom House "hath cost us much blood at several times; and it was a place that the Oxford Serpent,* *Aulicus*, hath much gloried in, and highly magnified the valour of the Countesse of Derby, whose house it was; who, it seems, stole the Earle's breeches, when he fled long since into the Isle of Man, and hath in his absence play'd the man at Lathom; but the best man may be conquered, and so is Lady Derby." It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader that the Countess had been upwards of a year at the Isle of Man with the Earl of Derby and her children at the time of the surrender of the garrison at Lathom; nor is it necessary to state that the Earl of Derby retired to and remained in the Isle of Man in obedience to the royal will, and not from choice.

In the interim between the Earl of Derby's return to the Isle of Man after the first siege of Lathom House in 1644

* The person here meant is Sir John Birkenhead, the editor of *Aulicus*.

and the year 1651, the Earl abode in almost peaceful seclusion, his energies being devoted to those peaceful pursuits and the care of his family, from which the unhappy Civil War had drawn him, and to the improvement of his subjects in the little kingdom of Man. Up to this time the Manx people knew little or nothing of the use of coin, none having been issued in the island, and that brought from other countries had been very limited. It had been customary to pay the rents in corn and cattle ; and the commerce, such as it was, had been carried on by the primitive mode of barter. But besides improving the social status of his subjects, he also improved the military defences of the island, by the erection of fortifications in its centre, and at the point of Ayre, thus giving to it that impregnable strength, which, even after the death of the Earl of Derby, so long defied the power and tactics of the Parliament.

It may be as well to notice here that after the disastrous battle at Naseby, the King retired to Oxford, whence he endeavoured to renew negotiations for peace ; but these endeavours were principally baffled by the Independents, who, though in a minority in the House of Commons, possessed great power in the army. Having spent the winter at Oxford, and sustained the loss of nearly the whole of the strong places in the country, the King had now to make up his mind either to stand a siege, with no prospect of success, or else leave the city. His Majesty determined to adopt the latter course, and so formed the resolution to throw himself into the hands of the Scotch, who, throughout the war, had confined their attention to enforcing the claims of the Presbyterian form of religion, the security of the King's person, and the establishment of a limited monarchy, and were then besieging Newark. In order to carry out this determination, orders were given at every gate in Oxford for allowing three persons to pass ; and at midnight, on the 27th April, 1646, the King, accompanied by two attendants, Dr. Hudson and Mr. Ashburnham, and disguised as their servant, with a common portmanteau behind him, departed by the gate leading to London, passing through Henley and St. Albans, and coming so near the metropolis as Harrow-on-the-Hill, that he at one time entertained the thought of throwing himself on the mercy of the Parliament ; but, as if changing his plan, he then proceeded towards the north, and at length arrived at the Scottish camp before Newark, and there relinquished his personal liberty which was never again regained. Leven, the Scottish

general, and the officers received his Majesty with the greatest respect ; but on attempting, the first evening after his arrival, to give the watchword for the night, the Scottish general interrupted him, saying, " I am the older soldier ; your Majesty had better leave that office to me." From this time a guard was set upon his Majesty, under colour of protection, and he was removed to Newcastle, where he remained a prisoner for eight months, during which time the Parliament was negotiating with the Scotch for the surrender of his person. On the 1st of February, 1647, despairing of inducing his Majesty to sanction the Presbyterian forms, the Scotch, who, though acting partly as a mercenary army, asserting their right, as an independent nation under the authority of the King to retain and protect him, surrendered his Majesty to the Parliament for £400,000, and thus brought upon themselves the odious reproach of having sold their King, and betrayed their Prince for money ; and in vain did they maintain that the grant, which was much larger than their due, was arrears of pay on account of former services. The King was now conducted to Holdenby Castle, Northamptonshire, a splendid mansion not far from the fatal field of Naseby, where commissioners were appointed to attend him, and a small garrison was placed for his security. On the 30th of March, Harlech Castle, in North Wales, surrendered, being the last place, the Isle of Man excepted, which was still persistently retained by the Earl of Derby, that held out for royalty ; and thus, with the King a prisoner, the first Civil War was brought to a close.

The country was now in the anomalous position of having a Presbyterian majority in the Parliament and a victorious army of Independents in the field. By an ordinance of Parliament a modified form of Presbyterianism was established as a trial, but the system never gained a footing to any extent, except in London and some towns in Lancashire. Negotiations had been opened with the view of restoring the King to power under certain restrictions, but while these were pending, the divisions and jealousies between the Presbyterian and Independent parties were becoming every day more apparent, until at length the Parliament (almost exclusively Presbyterians) deemed it desirable, their services being no longer necessary, to materially reduce the force of the army ;* and it was also determined to abolish all military officers above the rank of a colonel, the commander-in-chief excepted ;

* Bates states that 14,000 only were intended to be kept up, these being 6,000 horse, 6,000 foot, and 2,000 dragoons.

and no officers were to be continued but those who conformed to the newly-established or Presbyterian church polity and discipline,—a blow directly intended for Cromwell, Ireton, and other Independents. The pay of the soldiers was in arrear: Eight weeks' pay had been promised, leaving forty-eight weeks' pay still owing. This and other grounds of complaint gave rise to general discontent throughout the army, and the forces, assembled at Nottingham, broke up from their cantonments and marched into Essex to be near the capital, for the purpose of presenting petitions, and advocating their rights. Increased discontent now followed, and anger was kindled on both sides. The Parliament voted that all the troops who were unwilling to engage for service in Ireland should be instantly disbanded. This determination on the part of the Parliament was followed by a council of the army ordering a general rendezvous of all the regiments with the object of securing their common interests; and while thus preparing themselves for opposition to the Parliament, though against the remonstrances of General Fairfax, who was checkmated by an authority more potent than his own, wielded by Cromwell and his son-in-law, Ireton, who had fomented the disaffection of the soldiers, Cromwell and his party resolved upon a scheme which at once decided the victory in their favour.

The King had been residing at Holdenby Castle for nearly four months, and on the 3rd of June, 1647, a party of 500 horse made their appearance at Holdenby, under command of Cornet Joyce, formerly a tailor, who, being unopposed by the guard, came into the presence of the King, armed with pistols, and told him that he must immediately go along with him to the army. The commissioners protested against the demand of Joyce; but the King himself consented, and at six o'clock, the following morning, his Majesty appeared ready for the journey, and was brought to the camp. Fairfax, on hearing of this unexpected event, proposed to bring Joyce before a court-martial, and to have the King re-conducted to his Parliamentary residence at Holdenby. Cromwell, however, the prime mover in this plot, left the senate, and also made his appearance at the camp, and there easily overruled the propositions of Fairfax, the King himself strongly objecting to return to Holdenby; for although precautions were taken to prevent his escape, all petty rigours were avoided, and he was allowed the service of two of his chaplains and the rites of the episcopal church, which had been rigorously denied him at Holdenby; and, in addition to these privileges, noted

Royalists obtained leave to visit their Sovereign, and his younger children had frequent interviews with him.*

After fruitless attempts to induce the King to adopt a policy fashioned for him by the leaders of the Parliamentary army, who, in order to fortify themselves against the Presbyterians, were willing to adopt episcopacy and leave him in command of the militia, Charles, who had been residing at Hampton Court since the 24th of August, was made aware of the dangerous temper of the military towards him by anonymous intimations that his life might be attempted, which led to his flight from Hampton Court, this step being secretly effected on the night of the 11th of November; but having no asylum secured, he became a fugitive, without any definite plan in view, and eventually he found his way, with three attendants, to the Isle of Wight, where he intrusted himself to Hammond, the governor of Carisbrook Castle, who was entirely dependent on Cromwell. The King now found himself in much the same position as he was when he surrendered to the Scotch, for in a few days a communication was forwarded to the Parliament intimating that the King had made his appearance in the Isle of Wight. From this place the King entered upon a new negotiation with the House of Commons, having at the same time a negotiation in hand with commissioners from Scotland, where the utmost anxiety was felt to arrest the career of the Independents. Finally the King agreed with the Presbyterians, under strict secrecy, to give their form of church government a trial for three years, reserving the right to dissent from it to himself and others who might feel conscientiously dissatisfied, the Presbyterians, in return, binding themselves to unite with the English Royalists for the purpose of putting down the Independent party, now become predominant in the English Parliament. For these concessions the Scotch were to interfere by force of arms to restore the fallen Monarch to his throne, and the English Royalists were to rise in insurrection against the Parliament, and the King was to escape from his confinement on the first opportunity presenting itself. With these objects in view, in the summer of 1648, the Royalists rose in different parts of Wales, but were soon subdued by Cromwell; and a rising in Kent was arrested

* The Prince of Wales had joined the Queen his mother at Paris, leaving his guardian, Hyde, in Jersey. The Princess Royal, Mary, was in Holland, where she had been left, at the time of the Queen's visit, as the affianced bride of the Prince of Orange. The Princess Henrietta, an infant daughter, had been conveyed by her governess to France; but three of the Royal children, James, Duke of York, Henry, Duke of Gloucester, and the Princess Elizabeth, resided at St. James's Palace, under the guardianship of the Earl of Northumberland, who had been appointed to that charge by the Parliament.

by Fairfax, who followed the insurgent Royalists across the Thames, and invested them in Colchester, where for eleven weeks they defied all his efforts. In July, a Scotch army, to the number of about 12,000 crossed the border, under the command of the incompetent Duke of Hamilton. Cromwell immediately marched against this force with 8,000 veteran troops, and coming in contact with the northern cavaliers, under Sir Marmaduke Langdale, completely defeated them near Preston, in Lancashire, and on the same day routed the Scotch with ease, taking both Hamilton and Langdale prisoners. Cromwell following up this success, still advanced northwards for the purpose of completely arresting the insurrection.

Being now relieved from military intimidations by the absence of the army, the Presbyterian members of the House of Commons resumed their courage, and entered upon a new negotiation with the King, still a prisoner in the Isle of Wight. On the 18th of September, the conferences were commenced in the town of Newport, in the Isle of Wight, with a view to treaty, when the King was allowed his liberty upon parole. In this treaty he placed himself in the humiliating position of conceding everything demanded of him, though at the same time intimating to his confidential friends by letter, not to be alarmed, as the concessions exacted from him would come to nothing, and even instructing the Marquis of Ormonde, then in Ireland, not to obey any commands he might send him, but to follow the commands of the Queen.

The insurrection being quelled, the army returned to London, and fiery zealots amongst them expatiated upon the impiety of allowing the authors of the insurrection to go unpunished: and though Cromwell was still absent in the north, by his suggestion a remonstrance was drawn up by the council of general officers, who complained of the treaty between the King and the Parliament; and, referring to the King as the great delinquent, demanded his punishment for the blood spilt during the war, required the dissolution of the Parliament, and asserted that, though servants, they were entitled to represent these important points to their masters, who themselves were no better than servants and trustees of the people.

Nor were these threats mere idle effusions, for about the same time, on the 1st of November, the army advanced to Windsor, whence Colonel Eure, with a detachment of soldiers, was sent to seize the King's person at Newport, and to remove

the unhappy Monarch from the Isle of Wight to Hurst Castle, in Hampshire, where he was kept in close confinement ; and squadrons of the army were poured into the metropolis.

Notwithstanding these demands, and the capture of Charles by the army at the instigation of Cromwell, the Parliament decided by a majority in favour of a peaceful treaty, which was carried in the House of Commons, after a debate of three days' duration, by a majority of 129 against 83, "that the King's concessions were a foundation for the houses to proceed upon in the settlement of the kingdom." The morning after, being the 6th of December, a regiment of horse and foot was sent to the house of Commons by Cromwell, under the command of Colonel Pride, who took possession of the passage, and forcibly excluded from it about two hundred members of the Presbyterian party, and none were allowed to enter the house but the most furious and the most determined of the Independents, these numbering only about fifty or sixty. This transaction will ever be remembered as "Colonel Pride's Purge." In the evening, Cromwell made his appearance amongst the diminutive Independent Parliament, who acquired the name of the "Rump," and while asserting his ignorance of all that had taken place, declared his approval of the transaction ; by this Parliament the King was ordered to Windsor Castle ; and by this Parliament was passed an ordinance for his trial, which being rejected by the Lords, sixteen in number, this packed Parliament voted themselves and dared to act as the supreme authority of the nation ; but obviously their proceedings had no more legality than those of any other fifty men in the kingdom, who might combine and agree together to effect a particular object ; and as the work of a few self-constituted dictators, acting independently of, and in opposition to a majority of the legally constituted Parliament, who had been forcibly excluded from the council, and being without the consent of the King or House of Peers, the judgment subsequently passed upon the King by the Rump or Independent Parliament was essentially a deliberate act of murder. And what appears the more lamentable in this transaction is the pretence to sanctity, which obtained amongst those regicides :—"Should any one," said Cromwell in the House, "have voluntarily proposed to bring the King to punishment, I should have regarded him as the greatest traitor ; but, since Providence and necessity have cast us upon it, I will pray to God for a blessing on your counsels ; though I am not prepared to give you my advice on this important

occasion. Even I myself," he continued, "when I was lately offering up petitions for His Majesty's restoration, felt my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, and considered this preternatural movement as the answer which Heaven, having rejected the King, had sent to my supplications."

On the 4th of January, 1649, the ordinance for the trial of the King was again read and assented to; and, on the arrangements being completed, the King was brought from Windsor to St. James's Palace, and the commission for his trial was opened on Saturday, the 20th of January. The High Court of Justice, as it was called, numbered one hundred and thirty-five members, but only sixty-nine answered to their names. John Bradshaw, sergeant-at-law, was appointed president. This court of justice sat at the upper end of Westminster-hall, which was guarded by strong barriers from the part occupied by the public spectators, who crowded the area and filled the galleries, whilst soldiers guarded the entrance and occupied positions in the interior. In order to give the scene an air of pomp and dignity, a chair, covered with velvet, was provided for the King. The King looked round upon his judges with some degree of sternness, and then sat down, remaining covered, his judges also keeping on their hats. The president, in the name of the Commons, then proceeded to say,—“Charles Stuart, King of England, the Commons of England, assembled in Parliament, taking notice of the effusion of blood in the land, which is fixed on you as the author of it, and whereof you are guilty, have resolved to bring you to a trial and judgment, and for this cause the tribunal is erected. The charges will now be heard by the solicitor-general.” The King, with great temper and dignity, declined the authority of the court, and refused to submit himself to its jurisdiction, observing, “I would know by what authority, I mean lawful—for there are many unlawful authorities in the world, thieves and robbers by the highways,—but I would know by what authority I am seated here; resolve me that, and you shall hear more of me.” After some discussion with the president, the King was removed from the bar, during which some of the populace manifested their sympathy towards their sovereign by loud cries of “God save the King!” whilst the soldiers of the Parliament shouted “Justice!” “Execution!” On Monday, the 22nd, the scene was repeated, and also on the Tuesday, the King on each occasion declining the jurisdiction of the judges. On Saturday, the 27th January, the court sat for the last time, on which day judgment of death was pronounced.

On this occasion only sixty-seven members were present, and on Fairfax's name being called, a female voice, supposed to be that of Lady Fairfax, exclaimed from the gallery, "He has too much wit to be here ;" and when it was said that the prosecution was made in the name of the people of England, the same voice was heard to say, "Not one half of them." The soldiers, instigated by their superiors, and incessantly plied with conventional prayers, sermons, and exhortations, cried aloud for what they were taught to term justice on the King, observing which, his Majesty said, "Poor souls ; for a little money they would do as much against their commanders." The King wished to be heard before the Lords and Commons, having a proposal to make, supposed to be his abdication in favour of the Prince of Wales, but this was denied him. The clerk then read the doom of death, the King still in passionate accents claiming a hearing, but he was instantly removed, some of the military exhibiting their brutality towards him by spitting in his face. The people in general were horror-struck at the sad event, but they were too effectually kept in check by the army to have any influence in preventing or resenting the behests of the military despotism under which they and their Sovereign were groaning.

Three days were allowed the King to prepare for his fate ; and this short interval he passed in reading and devotional exercises, and in intercourse with the youthful members of his family remaining in England, these being the Princess Elizabeth and Henry, Duke of Gloucester, who was little more than an infant, the Duke of York having made his escape. It is observed that notwithstanding the tender years of the Princess, the calamities of her family had made a deep impression upon her ; and that after many pious consolations and advices, her royal parent gave her in charge to tell the Queen, that during the whole course of his life he had never once, even in thought, failed in his fidelity towards her, and that his conjugal tenderness and his life should have an equal duration.*

With the view of implanting early principles of loyalty and obedience on the mind of the young Duke of Gloucester towards his brother Charles, the Prince of Wales, who was so shortly to become his Sovereign, the King took him on his knee and said, "Now they will cut off thy father's head." On hearing these words, the child looked steadfastly in the face of his royal parent, who continued, "Mark, child ! what I

* Hume.

say : They will cut off my head ! and perhaps make thee a King : But mark what I say, thou must not be a King, as long as thy brothers Charles and James are alive. They will cut off thy brothers' heads, when they can catch them ! And thy head too they will cut off at last ! Therefore I charge thee do not be made a King by them !” To which the infant Duke, sighing, replied, “I will be torn to pieces first.” This answer, from one of such tender years, is said to have “filled the King’s eyes with tears of joy and admiration.”

Notwithstanding that commissioners from Scotland protested against the unlawfulness of the trial and pending doom of the King, and the endeavours of the ambassadors from Holland to procure a reprieve, the death-warrant was prepared on Monday, the 29th, and received fifty-nine signatures. The following morning, having taken his last affectionate farewell of his two children, already mentioned, the King rose early, and dressed himself with unusual care ; and some time before ten o’clock delivered to Sir Thomas Herbert his Bible, in the margin of which were written, with his own hand, many annotations and quotations, charging him to give the sacred volume to the Prince of Wales so soon as he returned. Soon after ten o’clock, Colonel Hacker, who was commissioned to execute the sentence, conducted Charles from St. James’s Palace to Whitehall, where a scaffold had been erected in front of the Banqueting House. The King walked briskly through the park, having Bishop Juxon on his right hand and Colonel Tomlinson on his left, whom he had requested not to leave him. The whole route was lined with cavalry and immense numbers of spectators. On arriving at Whitehall, the King was led to the chamber he had usually occupied, where food was prepared for him, but he only took a piece of bread and a glass of wine. At one o’clock the King followed Hacker through a window (from which the frame had been taken out), at the north extremity of the building near the gate, to the scaffold, which was hung with black, and occupied and graced by two executioners in masks. The scaffold was not so much elevated above the street but that the King could hear people weeping and praying for him below. When on the scaffold, he made a brief speech, in which he justified his own innocence in the late fatal wars, as well as his views of sovereignty, and declared that he died a member of the Church of England, observing, “I have on my side a good cause and a merciful God.” On preparing himself for the block, good Bishop Juxon said to him, “There is, sir, but one stage more, which, though

turbulent and troublesome and full of anguish, is yet a very short one. Consider, it will soon carry you a great way; it will carry you from earth to heaven; and there you shall find, to your great joy, the prize to which you hasten, a crown of glory;" to which the King replied, "I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can have place." He then took off his coat, and, giving his "George" to Juxon, with the word "Remember,"* laid his head upon the block, and one blow from one of the executioners severed it from his body. The other executioner held up to the gaze of the spectators the head, streaming with blood, and cried out, "This is the head of a traitor!"† One universal groan broke from the multitude at the fatal stroke; and, according to the evidence of an eye-witness, Philip Henry, the father of Matthew Henry, the commentator, a rush was made by the people to dip their handkerchiefs in the royal blood as a memento of their martyred sovereign. The troops, however, interfered and cleared the streets, and thus the tragedy ended.

The King's body was embalmed immediately after the execution, and then taken to and interred at Windsor, in the vault

* What the King here alluded to is not known. It is related, however, that the generals vehemently insisted upon the prelate that he should inform them of the King's meaning, when the Bishop informed them that the King had frequently charged him to inculcate on his son the forgiveness of his murderers, and had taken that opportunity, in the last moment of his life, when his commands, he supposed, would be regarded as sacred, to reiterate that desire; and that his mild spirit thus terminated its present course, by an act of benevolence towards his greatest enemies.—See *Hume*.

† Who the actual executioner of the King was is not known with certainty. Some are of opinion that it was an Earl of Stair; some that it was Cornet Joyce, the officer who removed him from Holdenby Castle; others mention a William Walker, who was buried in the parish church of Sheffield; while others assert that it was Richard Brandon, the common executioner, who is said to have pocketed £30 as his reward. Soon after the Restoration, the Government made an effort to discover the masked headsmen, but we are not informed that they succeeded. The famous astrologer, William Lilly, having dropped a hint that he knew something on the subject of the tragedy was examined before a Parliamentary committee at the time, and gave the following information:—"The next Sunday but one after Charles the First was beheaded, Robert Spavin, Secretary unto Lieutenant-General Cromwell, invited himself to dine with me, and brought Anthony Peirson and several others along with him to dinner. Their principal discourse all dinner-time was only, who it was that beheaded the King. One said it was the common hangman; another, Hugh Peters; others were nominated, but none concluded. Robert Spavin, so soon as dinner was done, took me to the south window. Saith he, 'These are all mistaken; they have not named the man that did the fact: it was Lieutenant-Colonel Joyce. I was in the room when he fitted himself for the work—stood behind him when he did it—when done went in again with him. There's no man knows this but my master (viz. Cromwell), Commissary Ireton, and myself.' 'Doth not Mr. Rushworth know it?' said I, 'No, he doth not,' said Spavin. The same thing Spavin since had often related to me when we were alone. Mr. Prynne did, with much civility, make a report hereof in the house."—*Lilly's History of his Life and Times*, ed. 1715, p. 89.—Notwithstanding this, the probability is that the King's head was cut off by Richard Brandon, the common executioner, for, after the Restoration, when an attempt was made to fix the guilt on one William Hulett, the following evidence was given in his defence, and there is every reason to believe that it is the truth:—"When my Lord Capell, Duke Hamilton, and the Earl of Holland were beheaded in the Palace Yard, Westminster, my Lord Capell asked the common hangman, 'Did you cut off my master's head?' 'Yes,' said he. 'Where is the instrument that did it?' He then brought the axe. 'Is this the same axe? are you sure?' said my lord. 'Yes, my lord,' saith the hangman, 'I am very sure it is the same.' My Lord Capell took the axe and kissed it, and gave him five pieces of gold. *I heard him say, 'Sirrah, wert thou not afraid?'* Saith the hangman, 'They made me cut it off and I had thirty pounds for my pains.'"

with the remains of Henry VIII. and Jane Seymour,* having been followed to its final resting-place by a few devoted loyal Cavaliers, including his relative the Duke of Richmond. The funeral was attended with no ceremony beyond the tears of the mourners; the Burial Service of the Church being then under prohibition; and the words, "King Charles, 1648," inscribed on the outside of the outer coffin, alone marked the remains of the unfortunate King. The funeral took place on the 19th of February, three weeks after the execution, in the royal vault just mentioned, in the centre of the choir, his loyal and sorrowing friends disdaining an ordinary grave which had been dug for the reception of his remains in the floor of the chapel.

During the troubles and events which resulted in the decapitation of the King, the Earl of Derby and his Countess remained cooped up in the Isle of Man, securing and enjoying the good-will and loyalty of their subjects, and placing themselves in a position for bidding defiance to the fleets, threats, and persuasions of the Parliament, which was using every expedient to bring the Earl over to its side.

On Lathom House falling into the hands of the Parliamentarians, after the second siege, it was soon transformed from a formidable stronghold into a heap of ruins. "The rich silk hangings of the beds were torn to pieces;" the towers and all the strong works razed to the ground and demolished, and all the buildings within it, leaving standing, as Seacombe informs us, "only two or three little timber buildings as a monument of the fury and malice of the enemy." Immediately after

* The precise place of interment was not known till the reign of William III., on the vault being opened to receive one of the Princess Anne's children. From this time, however, it remained unobserved, forgotten, and was a subject of doubt till the year 1815, when the vault had once more to be opened for the funeral of the Duchess of Brunswick. On the first of April, the day after the funeral of the Duchess, George IV., then Prince Regent, the Duke of Cumberland, the Dean of Windsor, Sir Harry Halford, and two other gentlemen assembled at the vault, while a search was made for the remains of Charles I., and soon all doubt about the matter was removed. The lead coffin, with the inscription, was soon found and partially opened, when the decapitated body of the King was found tolerably entire and in good preservation, and also the gums and resins which had been employed in embalming it. Sir Harry Halford's account of what appeared on opening the coffin of King Charles I., &c., 1813, will be read with interest:—"At length the whole face was disengaged from its covering. The complexion of the skin of it was dark and discoloured. The forehead and temples had lost little or nothing of their muscular substance; the cartilage of the nose was gone; but the left eye, in the first moment of exposure, was open and full, though it vanished almost immediately; and the pointed beard, so characteristic of the reign of King Charles, was perfect. The shape of the face was a long oval: many of the teeth remained. * * * * When the head had been entirely disengaged from the attachments which confined it, it was found to be loose, and without any difficulty was taken up and held to view. The back part of the scalp was perfect, and had a remarkably fresh appearance; the pores of the skin being more distinct, as they usually are when soaked in moisture; and the tendons and filaments of the neck were of considerable substance and firmness. The hair was thick at the back part of the head, and in appearance nearly black. * * * On holding up the head to examine the place of separation from the body, the muscles of the neck had evidently retracted themselves considerably; and the fourth cervical vertebra was found to be cut through its substance, transversely, leaving the surfaces of the divided portions perfectly smooth and even."

its surrender, Lathom House was consigned by the Parliamentarians, at the instance of Colonel Booth, into the hands of Captain Peter Holt, of Bridge Hall, Bury, with instructions to thus degrade the venerable Lathom mansion, and thereby insult the gallantry of the loyal Earl of Derby and his heroic Countess; and it appears, from the Book of Sequestrations of the county of Lancaster, that on the 29th of April, 1645, Mr. Peter Ambrose was required, by the committee for sequestrations in the Hundred of West Derby, "to view Lathom House," and to certify to them "whether Captain Peter Holt had observed his orders in the demolishing of Lathom House." On the 13th of May, the same year, at a meeting of the committee for sequestrations, held at Preston, the following order was made respecting certain lead pipes which had been taken up at Lathom:—"Forasmuch as Mr. Richard Bradshaw, of Bolton, hath taken up certain pipes of lead belonging to Lathom House, pretending to be bought by him of one John Heywood, it is ordered, that Mr. Peter Ambrose shall take a view of the said pipes of lead so taken up as aforesaid; and shall appraise the same, and shall certify the true value thereof to the committee of the 1st of June next." On the same day, the sequestrations committee also issued the following order:—"Whereas by an order of the twenty-third day of April last, it was ordered that Mr. Peter Ambrose should receive the House of Lathom, together with the goods and materials, and to inventory the same goods, which is done accordingly; it is ordered that the said Mr. Peter Ambrose shall dispose of the same for the Commonwealth; and whereas divers goods and materials mentioned in a schedule hereunto affixed, amounting to the sum of £51 7s. 2d., formerly sold to William Kyndsley, Richard Bradshaw, Henry Molineux, and Joseph Moxon, are as yet remaining there, it is ordered that they shall forthwith pay unto Mr. Peter Ambrose the said sum of £51 7s. 2d., according to their several agreements formerly made, to be disposed of for the public use, and the said goods thereupon delivered, and not otherwise." This order bears the signatures of J. Fleetwood, Robert Cunliffe, Richard Haworth, Nicholas Cunliffe, Edward Rigby, Wm. Snipe, John Starkie, and Richard Asheton. Another order, issued by the sequestrators to Mr. Peter Ambrose, states that "those boards that have been lately employed in the House at Lathom, and now taken down and laid together by Captain Holt, shall be forthwith carried to Liverpool for the use of the garrison there;" and

on the 30th of April, 1647, the committee, sitting at Ormskirk, "ordered that Mr. Peter Ambrose shall, upon sight hereof, deliver to Edward Chambers, Commissary at Liverpool, one pair of gates, with the stoops thereunto belonging, now at Lathom House, for to be employed for the use of the said garrison as the governor shall direct."*

These orders, issued by the committees for sequestrations, help to afford some idea of the destruction of the property of those Royalists who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the Parliament by their fidelity to their Sovereign, as in the case of the noble proprietor of Lathom House, and in other instances in which several of his kinsmen and neighbours were subjected to privation and want.

On the capture of the King, after the fatal action at Naseby, on the 14th of June, 1645, and his confinement in Hurst Castle, the Earl of Derby, whose means had become much curtailed by the sequestration of his extensive possessions in England, having been made aware of an ordinance of Parliament,† to the effect that Mrs. Jane Eccleston, wife of Thomas Eccleston, Esquire, of Eccleston, should be allowed for the maintenance of herself and children one-fifth part of her husband's estate, she paying all rates and taxes which might be imposed on the estate, his lordship despatched his eldest son, Charles, Lord Strange, and his younger children, under a passport from Sir Thomas Fairfax, from the Isle of Man to Liverpool, for the purpose of petitioning both Houses

* Seacombe also gives "An Account of what Floors and Wainscots were sold by the Officers put in by Colonel Booth, at Lathom House," which is as follows:—

	£.	s.	d.
In the Eagle-tower, three floors, in measure 74 yards $\frac{1}{2}$ each, the two } highest at 12d. per yard	7	9	0
The third floor, 74 yards, at 1s. 2d. per yard	4	7	0
The Tower of Madness, 25 yards, at 12d. per yard	1	5	0
The Tower at the Kitchen-bridge, one floor, 34 yards, at 12d. per yard	1	14	0
The other floor, 32 yards, at 4d. per yard	0	10	8
The Little Tower next it, two floors, 15 yards.....	0	16	0
The next Tower to that in the corner, two floors, 36 yards.....	1	16	0
The Chapel Tower, one floor, 16 yards	1	16	0
In the Private Tower, one floor, 16 yards $\frac{1}{2}$	0	6	6
The floor in the lowest room, Eagle Tower, 70 yards.....	4	1	8
Wainscot of the same room, 159 yards, at 1s. 6d. per yard	16	0	0
The wainscot in the room adjoining, 83 yards, at 1s. 6d. per yard	6	19	0
The floor in the same room, 27 yards, at 1s. 2d per yard.....	1	16	0
The floor in the Middle Ward, 111 yards, at 1s. per yard.....	5	11	0

£54 7 10

† In 1645, the Parliament, being moved by the tears and prayers of the distressed wives, widows, and fatherless children of their fellow-subjects, and even relations, made an ordinance for their relief, the carrying out of which was intrusted to a committee, and on the 29th of November, 1646, the following notice was issued by this committee, which was called a "Committee for compounding with Delinquents:"—"Whereas by an order from the honourable House of Commons in Parliament assembled, of the twenty-third of February, 1645,—this committee is authorized and enabled to suspend the sequestrations of such delinquents as shall compound with the said Committee; they having paid the moiety of such fine, and given security for the other moiety, and to stand to such compositions as shall be allowed of, or set by the House of Commons. These are to certify all whom it may concern, &c."

of Parliament for a restitution of part of their father's estates to provide for their maintenance and education. On the 8th of September, 1647, being about a year after the presentation of the petition, the request of the noble and youthful petitioners was granted and confirmed in the following terms :—
“At the Committee of Lords and Commons for Sequestration, upon the petition of the Right Honourable Charles Lord Strange, Edward, William, Henrietta-Maria, Catherine, and Amelia, the sons and daughters of James Earl of Derby, it is thought fit and ordered that the said children be allowed a fifth part for their maintenance according to the said ordinance, from the time of their demand. And that the Manor of Knowsley, in the County of Lancaster, with the house, lands, and appurtenances in Lancashire thereto belonging, be part of the said fifth part. And that no timber be felled upon the Earl's lands, but that the same be preserved according to the order of sequestration.—Intra. R. Vaughan. Henry Pelham.”

In pursuance of this order the petitioners were allowed to have possession of their father's seat and lands at Knowsley, but subject to the imposed payments and reservations; and the Earl of Derby himself was informed that if he would comply with the requirements of the then existing government, the whole of his property should be returned. This gracious offer on the part of his spoliators was peremptorily rejected by the Earl to the annoyance and disappointment of those who volunteered it.

The Earl's children having resided about twelve months at Knowsley, they began to experience the effects of the renewed malice of Bradshaw, commonly called the “bloody president,” who instigated the Parliamentary forces against the family; and towards the end of the year 1648, on account of the loyal resistance of the Earl, who kept possession of the Isle of Man as his own kingdom in defiance of the threats and overtures of the Parliament, the children were removed from Knowsley, and made prisoners at Liverpool by the revengeful Colonel Birch, known as “Earl Derby's Carter,” who was then governor of Liverpool, and by him they and their attendants were confined for eighteen months in the Tower at Liverpool, where they were solely maintained by the assistance of their friends, who were almost reduced to the same necessitous condition as themselves. Information of the barbarous treatment to which the youthful prisoners were subjected, under the hands of Colonel Birch, having been forwarded to Sir Thomas Fairfax,

the commander-in-chief of the Parliamentary army, that general entered into a correspondence with the Earl respecting the sufferings of his children, to whom the Earl replied in the following affecting terms :—"That he was greatly afflicted by the sufferings of his children ! that it was not the course of great or noble minds to punish innocent children for their father's offences ; and that it would be clemency in Sir Thomas Fairfax to send them back to him, or to Holland or France ; but if he could do none of these, his children must submit to the mercy of Almighty God, but should never be redeemed by his disloyalty." As a last resort to induce the Earl of Derby to deliver up the Isle of Man, the King being then dead, the Parliament, by Sir Thomas Fairfax, instructed Lieutenant-General Ireton, the son-in-law of Oliver Cromwell, to propose to the Earl of Derby "that if his lordship would deliver that island to the Parliament's commands, his children should not only be set at liberty, but that he himself might peaceably return to England, and enjoy one moiety of all his possessions." To this communication the Earl replied as follows :—

"Sir,—I received your letter with indignation, and with scorn I return you this answer, that I cannot but wonder whence you should gather any hopes from me, that I should, like you, prove traitorous to my sovereign, since you cannot be insensible of my former actings in his late Majesty's service, from which principle of loyalty I am no way departed.

"I scorn your proffers, I abhor your treasons ; and am so far from delivering this island to your advantage, that I will keep it to the utmost of my powers to your destruction.

"Take this final answer, and forbear any further solicitations ; for if you trouble me with any more messages upon this subject, I will burn the paper, and hang the bearer.

"This is the immutable resolution, and shall be the undoubted practice, of him who accounts it his chiefest glory to be

"His Majesty's most loyal and obedient servant,

"DERBY.

"Castle Town, 12 July, 1649."

It may not be deemed out of place here to notice briefly some of the incidents connected with the cause of the Royalists and of the Earl of Derby's return into England from the Isle of Man. On the day of the King's execution, even before the appointed time of any express leaving the capital, the Parliament, or rather the remnant of the Commons, thirty-

eight in number,* who had usurped the supreme power, issued an ordinance, declaring it to be treason to proclaim his son, or any other person, his successor; and not many days after, this Parliament also abolished the House of Lords, and abrogated the office of sovereignty as unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous. Notwithstanding, however, the overthrow of the regal power, it was found impossible to substitute a democratic republic, although such men as Bradshaw, Hutchinson, Ludlow, Vane, and Sydney were sincerely attached to republican theories. The military element was triumphant under Oliver Cromwell and other leaders, who viewed popular representation as calculated to abridge the power of the army, knowing that a general appeal to the people would send to Parliament a majority of exasperated Royalists and Presbyterians, willing to combine in favour of a monarchical constitution. The rump or residue of the Long Parliament, dreading such an issue, established a dictatorial form of government, which was protected by the swords of thirty thousand veteran soldiers, who, at that time, formed the finest army in Europe, and before whom Cavaliers and Presbyterians, although they constituted a vast majority of the nation, had to give way for a time to the political force of the army and the Independent Parliament; but, though the peers ceased to exist as a legislative body, the aristocratic order and title were still maintained, and peers were eligible to enter the Commons in cases where elections were allowed, by which means the number of Commons was raised to about one hundred and fifty; but the regular attendants scarcely numbered more than one-third of that number. To form an executive, a Council of State was appointed, consisting of forty-two persons, including a few lords, some lawyers, and the chief military officers. Of this Executive Council Bradshaw was chosen president, and Milton, secretary for foreign affairs;† Fairfax was continued commander-in-chief of the army, and the fleet was placed under the orders of the renowned Admiral Blake. Of the judges, six resigned; and six continued in their office, on condition that the fundamental laws of the realm should not be changed.

* The Earls of Denbigh, Mulgrave, Pembroke, Salisbury, Lords Grey and Fairfax, Lisle, Rolles, St. John, Wilde, Bradshaw, Cromwell, Skippon, Pickering, Massam, Haselrig, Harrington, Vane, jun., Danvers, Armine, Mildmay, Constable, Pennington, Wilson, Whitlocke, Martin, Ludlow, Stapleton, Hevingham, Wallop, Hutchinson, Bond, Popham, Valentine, Walton, Scot, Purefry, Jones.—*Hume*.

† It may be observed that Milton, besides being a great poet, was also a prominent statesman at this time. The family of his first wife—for he married three times—who resided in Bedfordshire, had been reduced to great distress by their devotion to the Royal cause, and this, no doubt, had something to do with their temporary separation. After the death of Charles I. the poet statesman produced a tract on "The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates: proving that it is lawful to call to account a Tyrant or Wicked King," &c.

One of the first acts of the Government was to bring to trial the Duke of Hamilton, Lord Holland, and Lord Capel, who had been taken prisoners in the late war, and who, being found guilty of high treason, according to the ordinance of the Parliament, were condemned and beheaded in Palace Yard, as an intimidation to the Royalists, deemed prudent, perhaps, owing to the reported preparations being made in Scotland to assert the rights of Charles II., who was then poor and neglected, residing successively in Scilly, Jersey, Paris, and the Hague, where he took up his residence, and where he first heard the intelligence of his father's death, upon which he assumed the title of King, and comforted himself amidst his distresses with the hopes of a better future. In Ireland Charles had been proclaimed King immediately after receiving intelligence of his father's execution, and, with the exception of Dublin and Derry, the whole of the sister isle was gained over to the Royalist cause by the Marquis of Ormonde, the lord-lieutenant. It was in Ireland that Charles intended to have made his first attempt to gain the throne ; but, Cromwell having been appointed lord-lieutenant, was despatched thither with a small but effective army of 9,000 men, where he landed on the 15th of August, 1649, being attended by his son-in-law Ireton ; and the poor, ill-armed, and undisciplined natives were scattered as dust before the whirlwind by this veteran army under Cromwell, which was supported by a train of artillery. Town after town fell by direct assault ; and the victory of the Parliamentarians was disgraced by the frightful inhumanity of the conquerors. In about eight months the island was so far subdued that Cromwell returned to England, and his son-in-law was left behind to complete the conquest, and to regulate the affairs of the country. On his return to London, Cromwell received the thanks of the Parliament for his signal services in Ireland.

The Scottish nation having conditionally proclaimed Charles king, had been, for some time, by means of commissioners in Holland, negotiating with him to accept their terms, which were, that he should adopt the Covenant, promise never to tolerate the Roman Catholic religion, govern in civil affairs through the medium of Parliament, and conduct ecclesiastical matters in accordance with the law and rules of the Kirk. At first he refused the offers of the Covenanters, abhorring the idea of turning Presbyterian, and preferred sending the Marquis of Montrose from Holland to raise the Scotch Highlanders in his favour, and by their assistance gain the throne

unfettered by promises, having already proved himself a notorious libertine, without any relish or respect for the restraints which must have been imposed upon him in order to enjoy the good-will of the northern Presbyterians. The expedition of Montrose, however, was a failure, for his band of followers was defeated at Caithness by Strahan, who had been sent with a body of cavalry to check his progress, and thus Montrose and the Royalists were taken by surprise and put to flight, nearly the whole of them being killed or taken prisoners, and Montrose, having attired himself in the garb of a peasant, was perfidiously delivered into the hands of his enemies by a friend, McLeod, of Assynt, to whom he had intrusted himself for safety, and was conducted to Edinburgh. On arriving at the gate of the city he was met by the magistrates, and put into a new cart, purposely fitted with a high chair or bench, on which he was placed, that the people might have a full view of his person. He was also bound by a cord drawn over his breast and shoulders, and fastened through holes made in the cart; and the hangman took off the hat of the noble prisoner, and rode himself before the cart in his livery, with his bonnet on, the other prisoners walking at the front of the procession two by two. Montrose was taken before the Scottish Parliament, then sitting at Edinburgh, on the 20th of May, 1650, when the following sentence of death was passed upon him:—"That he, James Graham, should next day be carried to Edinburgh Cross, and there be hanged on a gibbet, thirty feet high, for the space of three hours: Then be taken down, his head be cut off upon a scaffold, and affixed to the prison: His legs and arms be stuck up in the four chief towns of the kingdom: His body be buried in the place appropriated for common malefactors; except the church, upon his repentance, should take off his excommunication." The Presbyterian clergy, taking advantage of the Duke's hopeless condition, flocked about him and exulted over his fallen fortunes. He told them that they were a deluded and deluding people; and, speaking of his own position, he said, "For my part, I am much prouder to have my head affixed to the place where it is sentenced to stand than to have my picture hung in the King's bedchamber. So far from being sorry that my quarters are to be sent to four cities of the kingdom; I wish I had limbs enow to be dispersed into all the cities of Christendom, there to remain as testimonies in honour of the cause for which I suffer." On the following day, being Tuesday, May 21st, he was led forth amidst the

insults of his enemies and the tears of the people, and having asked if they had any more indignities to heap upon him, he patiently submitted to the last act of the executioner; and thus perished the gallant Marquis of Montrose in the thirty-eighth year of his age.

The expedition of Montrose having proved a miserable failure, no other alternative was left for Charles but to disavow the reckless enterprise of Montrose, and so he sailed for Scotland, and embraced and solemnly bound himself by the conditions proposed by the Covenanters, landing in the mouth of the Spey, on the 23rd June, 1650.

It was now the policy and object of the authorities of the Commonwealth to anticipate the invasion of England by invading Scotland. To this service Fairfax was appointed, but being influenced by his Presbyterian predilections, and probably still more by the persuasions of his wife, who was a zealous Royalist, he declined the task, and preferred to retire for a time altogether from public life, which now opened the way for Oliver Cromwell, who was at once created lord general of the armies of the Commonwealth of England.

Cromwell had scarcely been two months from Ireland before he crossed the Tweed, and, proceeding northwards along the coast, he approached the Scottish army, then intrenched near Edinburgh, under the command of Leslie, when he found he had to manœuvre and retreat; and it was now the fate of the Ironsides under Cromwell for a time to endure something of the pangs of famine and privation, which were aggravated by the cautious and accomplished Leslie, whose object was to avoid a battle and let famine do its work. The tactics of the prudent Leslie had placed Cromwell in such a position on the coast near Dunbar, that he must either surrender or make a hopeless attack on the Scottish army; but just as he had resolved to send away his baggage and encumbrances by sea, and to force his way through the Scottish army at the head of his cavalry, the Scots began to leave the hills and advance to give Cromwell battle in the plain, a movement rashly insisted upon by the clergy in the Scottish army, but strongly opposed by their commander, Leslie. On the 3rd of September, 1650, the two armies met in deadly conflict in the neighbourhood of Dunbar, when the Scottish army was totally defeated, with a loss of 4,000 slain, and 10,000 taken prisoners. Edinburgh and Glasgow surrendered immediately after Cromwell's success at Dunbar; and the English Parliamentary army under Cromwell was now master of the country south of the Forth.

Though the battle of Dunbar was ostensibly fought by the Scotch on behalf of Prince Charles, it was, to all intents and purposes, a struggle for power between the Presbyterians and the Independent Parliamentarians; and there can be no doubt but Charles looked upon the defeat of the Scotch as a fortunate event in his history, for he knew full well that both the Presbyterians and Independents were almost equally his enemies, except so far as his cause could be made subservient to their purposes. The Presbyterians now seeing their plight, made common cause with Prince Charles, and on the 1st of January, 1651, the ceremony of his coronation was performed at Scone with great pomp and solemnity: and now the object of the Presbyterians was accomplished, for the King signed the solemn League and Covenant, and thus agreed to maintain and respect the Presbyterianism of Scotland; but, notwithstanding this act on the part of the King, and the apparent loyalty of the Presbyterians towards his Majesty, there was little confidence subsisting between them, and the position of Charles was such that he actually made his escape from the Presbyterian army and fled towards the Highlands to join himself with Colonel Middleton, then at the head of a few Royalists who had been proscribed by the Covenanters; but Colonel Montgomery, with a troop of horse, went in pursuit of his Majesty, and he was easily induced to return on finding that the Royalists were not numerous enough to support him.

In the spring of 1651, as soon as the season would permit, another army mustered in the King's favour at Stirling, under the command of Hamilton and Leslie, and the King was also allowed to be in the camp; and Cromwell, leaving one of his officers to watch the movements of the King, proceeded with his army to cut off the King's communication with the Highlands by the capture of Perth. Cromwell having thus secured his position at the back of the King, made it impossible for him to retain his ground any longer. The way into England being now open, owing to the position taken up by Cromwell, Charles immediately determined to march into England, where he expected all his friends, and all those who were discontented with the existing government, would flock to his standard; and, acting in obedience to the determination of the King, the whole army, numbering about 14,000 men, advanced across the border and came into England, but were closely followed by Cromwell.

Whilst at Stirling the King appears to have been directly

in communication with the Earl of Derby, who still remained in the Isle of Man; and in a series of letters published in Mr. Cary's *Memorials of the Great Civil War* the Earl's preparations for a descent upon Lancashire are alluded to: The first is a letter from the Duke of Buckingham to the Earl of Derby, dated Stirling, July 24th, 1651, and is followed by one from Lord Derby to his secretary, Brown, intimating himself as being in readiness to come to Lancashire when called, "with five thousand good fellows in good equipage," and recommending the publication of the Scots' report, "that the DUKE OF DERBY is coming with five thousand men." The Earl also mentions his having communicated his intentions in Lancashire, that the King might not suffer as Hamilton did, by coming without him, and his wish that the gentlemen in the Isle of Man might know the King's desires, that the Earl's commands might be obeyed there as his own, as the maintaining of the security of the Isle of Man would "be a service as acceptable as if it were done in England."

The Earl of Derby having been apprized of Charles's march into Lancashire, immediately sailed with his two frigates from the Isle of Man, accompanied by a gallant band of devoted Royalists, including Sir Thomas Tyldesley, Colonel Ashurst, and others,* who had been sheltered and entertained by him from the fury of the Parliamentarians, with the intent of joining Charles in his march to Worcester. The Earl of Derby landed in Lancashire on the 16th of August; and, we are told, that no sooner had Colonel Birch, the governor of Liverpool, heard of the arrival of Lord Derby, than he hurried his lordship's younger children (whom he had been retaining at Liverpool as prisoners) to Chester, fearing, as it is observed, that the Earl of Derby "would knock at his door to inquire for them."

Charles is supposed to have passed through Warrington, on his way to Worcester, on the 16th August; and Clarendon,† noticing the King's march through Lancashire, says, "In

* In the *Perfect Diurnal*, October 13, mention is made of admissions by the Earl of Derby as to arrangements made with the Presbyterian party in Lancashire, the particulars of which are as follow:—That one Isaac Birkenhead had been the agent of communications between the Earl (when in the Isle of Man), the Presbyterians in the south of England, and the Royalists in Scotland, where Birkenhead was made prisoner. That this arrest induced Sir Thomas Tyldesley and Major Ashurst instantly to fly from Lancashire to the Isle of Man, prevented the delivery of the commissions in that county, and prevented a general rising of the Presbyterians, who were provided with arms and ammunition, and had intended to seize Liverpool. That the delivery of letters to the Lancashire Presbyterian party, signed by the Scots King, had been intrusted to general Massey and Major Ashurst, but had failed. That he himself (Lord Derby) was designed to be general for the counties of Lancaster, Chester, Salop, Worcester, Stafford, and all the North Wales counties, Sir Thomas Tyldesley being intended for his major general, and that he had left his Countess in trust for the Isle of Man, with one Martin Greenhough to assist her as governor.

† *Hist. Great Rebellion*, vol. vi., 469, edi. 1826.

Lancashire the Earl of Derby met him," and then proceeds to notice that it was advised "unfortunately that the Earl of Derby, &c., should return into Lancashire, in order to raise the well-affected in those two counties of Lancashire and Cheshire," adding that "the Earl of Derby had a body of near two hundred horse, consisting for the most part of officers and gentlemen, which deprived the army of a strength they wanted." Seacombe, on this point, observes that the Earl, being called upon to meet Charles II. in Lancashire, hastened over to England, bringing with him three hundred gallant gentlemen,* who had been sojourning with him in the Isle of Man, and though his lordship made all possible speed to have met the King in Lancashire, it so happened that his Majesty had passed through Lancashire three days before the Earl's arrival, but had left Major-General Massey to receive him; upon the hearing of which the Earl hastened to Warrington, where, that very night (August 16th), Major-General Massey brought in many of the Presbyterians to the Earl of Derby, and the Earl of Derby informed them "that he had come from the Isle of Man to do his Majesty all the service in his power; that the King had given him a previous assurance that all the gentlemen of the Presbyterian persuasion would be ready to join him, and that he was ready to receive whoever pleased to come to him, and to march directly to join the royal army," when one of their ministers, on behalf of himself and the rest of his brethren, proposed to the Earl "That he hoped, and so did all the gentlemen with him, that his lordship would put away all the Papists he had brought from the Isle of Man, and that he himself would take the covenant, and then they would all join with him." The Earl, we are told, declined this proposal, adding, "That upon these terms he might long since have been restored to his whole estate, and that blessed martyr, Charles I., to all his kingdom; that he came not now to dispute but to fight for his Majesty's restoration, and would upon the issue of the first battle, humbly submit himself to his Majesty's direction on that point; that he would refuse none of any persuasion whatso-

* A communication, supposed to be from Majors-General Lambert and Harrison, to the Parliament, states, "A Letter from the Gouvernour of Liverpoole informes what a molehill that mountain, the *Earle of Derby* and his forces from the Isle of Man, doth prove, that is to say, 60 poore horse and 250 foot." The same communication also says, in speaking of the Royalist army:—"They have betwixt 5,000 and 6,000 weak Horse, and some 6 or 7,000 very sickly Foot. We hear further that on Sunday night (August 17th) last my *Lord of Derby* came up to them, who brought with him some 60 Horse, most gentlemen, and returned back towards Lancashire, where he has left some 200 Foot to raise more." This confirms the statement of Clarendon, that "In Lancashire the Earl of Derby met" the King.

ever that came in cheerfully to serve the King; and hoped they would give him the same freedom and latitude, to engage whom he could for his Majesty's preservation; and that he was well assured that all those gentlemen he had brought with him, were sincere and honest friends to his Majesty's person and interest." Finding the Presbyterians inexorable, the Earl appealed to them further, saying, "Gentlemen, if you will be persuaded to join with me, I make no doubt but in a few days to raise as good an army to follow the King, as that he has now with him, and by God's blessing to shake off the yoke of bondage resting both upon you and us;" "if not," added the noble and gallant Earl, "I cannot hope to effect much: I may perhaps have men enough at my command, but all the arms are in your possession, without which I shall only lead naked men to slaughter; however, I am determined to do what I can with the handful of gentlemen now with me for his Majesty's service, and if I perish, I perish; but if my master suffer, the blood of another Prince and all the ensuing miseries of this nation will lie at your doors." Having thus expressed himself to his scrupulous audience, the Earl took horse, having with him only the trusty gentlemen who had accompanied him from the Isle of Man and some other of the Royalist party, but lost no time in sending out his warrants for all persons willing to serve the King under him forthwith to hasten to Preston, that town being appointed as the place of muster and rendezvous.

The precepts, or warrants, issued by the Earl of Derby from Preston, calling upon the inhabitants of Lancashire to join him at that place in arms, for the purpose of following the King to Worcester and strengthening his army, were but feebly responded to, and thus the Earl was severed from the main army, those having flocked to his standard being only about six hundred, whilst the enemy was pouring into the county in great numbers. At this time Manchester was held by the Cheshire and Lancashire militia, and Colonel Robert Lilburne had arrived in Lancashire from York with ten troops of dragoons, to join the army under Cromwell, who was expected from Scotland in pursuit of the King. On Thursday, the 21st of August, Lilburne and his forces took up their quarters for the night at Prescott, and the same night the Earl of Derby and his companions were at Ormskirk. The following day three hundred foot marched out of Chester, and all the foot that could be raised in Liverpool and other parts of Lancashire, to join in with Colonel Lilburne's cavalry, in

order that the Earl of Derby's march to join the King at Worcester might be intercepted, and the Earl, if possible, captured, or his escape by water prevented. On the same day, August 22nd, the Earl of Derby's secretary informed Colonel Ashurst* that the presence of the Parliamentary forces, under Lilburne, had prevented the circulation of the Earl's precepts; and that Lilburne's force was then approaching Wigan, which force now comprised eighteen hundred dragoons and the militia of Lancashire and Cheshire, numbering altogether about 3,000 horse and foot. To meet this numerous and unexpected force, the Earl of Derby had only been able to equip his six hundred horse.

On being apprized that Colonel Lilburne was in the neighbourhood, and knowing that longer delay in Lancashire would make his present critical position utterly hopeless, the Earl of Derby, trusting to the goodness of his cause and the dauntless courage and resolution of those gentlemen who had accompanied him from the Isle of Man, and those who had afterwards joined him, resolved to proceed after the King towards Worcester, and not to shrink from encountering the enemy should he find his progress interrupted; and to carry out his two-fold determination, the Earl gave orders to march forthwith from Preston to Wigan, which place had ever proved faithful and loyal to the Royalist cause, and there, if possible, to await the arrival of the enemy, and so anticipate the measures and tactics of his antagonist. With this object before him, the Earl commenced his march with his small force, taking the route of Leyland, having on the right, at a distance, his own park and the ruins of his old mansion of Lathom, and proceeding on to the Standish-road, brought his force into Wigan-lane, which lies on the north of Wigan. Unexpectedly, however, to the Earl and his small band of brave followers, Lilburne, by forced marches, had succeeded in bringing up his forces to Wigan before the arrival of the Earl; and Lilburne having posted his horse in Wigan-lane, and lined the hedges with his infantry, saluted the Earl of Derby on his approach with a galling fire of musketry. The Earl, though somewhat astonished at this unexpected reception, was not to be daunted or dismayed, but held on his march for some distance, when, approaching near to, and perceiving the strength of the enemy, and finding that an

* William Ashurst, Esq., of Ashurst, was a Presbyterian, and at the breaking out of the civil war was a member of the Lancashire Committee, and a major in the service of the Parliament; but after the separation of the Presbyterian and Independent parties, he joined the Royalists, and was an active supporter of Charles II. and the Earl of Derby.

engagement was imminent, he gave orders for his troops to halt, and immediately divided them into two bodies of three hundred each. Having thus disposed of his troops, the Earl himself took command of the van, and confided the command of the rear to Sir Thomas Tyldesley. The charge was then sounded, and almost instantly the Earl of Derby and his followers were engaged in one of the most bloody and deadly conflicts ever fought on Lancastrian ground, being determined to cut through Lilburne's formidable and opposing cavalry, or die in the failure. Twice the gallant Earl and all his brave party cut their way clear through the main body of the enemy ; but, on attempting to repeat the same feat of courage and destruction the third time, though considerably reduced in strength, and still environed and overwhelmed by the superior numbers of the Parliamentarians, Lord Witherington* and Sir Thomas Tyldesley were slain, besides many other brave and worthy gentlemen, a more extended list of whose names are given in Colonel Lilburne's despatch. Sir Robert Throgmorton, knight-marshal, was also left for dead upon the field of battle, but, being taken up by a poor woman, and placed under the care of Sir Robert Bradshaw, he recovered.

In this sanguinary conflict the Earl of Derby is said to have displayed prodigies of valour. He had two horses killed under him, and was twice remounted by a faithful French servant, who also lost his life by his noble master's side in the third charge. On the fall of the brave and lamented Lord Witherington, the Earl of Derby mounted the steed of that unfortunate nobleman, in the third charge, and being supported by six gentlemen engaged in the conflict, the gallant party of seven fought and cut their retreat through the body of the enemy, who attempted to surround and capture them, and actually reached the market-place of the town, where the Earl dismounted opposite a door, then open, and fled into the house, and suddenly closed the door after him, before his pursuers could overtake him. The good housewife received the wounded Earl kindly, and kept the door shut until she had conducted him to a place of privacy, where he remained concealed for some hours, notwithstanding a most industrious search was made for him in all directions by the enemy.

The day on which this memorable battle was fought was Monday, the 25th of August, 1651 ; and in the gallant exploits of the day, the Earl lost at least one-half of his six hundred

* Lord William Witherington, or Widderington, descended from an ancient Northumberland family.

companions in arms who took part with him in the struggle. During the conflict, which barely lasted two hours, the Earl himself received seven shots upon his breastplate, and thirteen sword-cuts upon his beaver, which he wore over a helmet of steel, and which was picked up in the lane after the battle. The noble Earl also received five or six severe wounds on his arms and shoulders, but none of them appear to have been dangerous.

The daring and bravery displayed by Lord Derby in this unequal struggle is universally acknowledged ; and though he had the misfortune to meet with a defeat, yet the contest which resulted in that defeat was one of those incidents in his honourable and patriotic, but checkered career which gives to his illustrious name one of its brightest rays,—and confirms, in a most convincing manner, the sincerity of his loyalty, and his indomitable courage and endurance as a soldier.

The loss of the Parliamentarians in the battle of Wigan-lane is put down by the Royalists as seven hundred killed, exclusive of those wounded.

The following letter, or despatch, from Colonel Lilburne to the “Honourable William Lenthall, Esq., Speaker of the Parliament,” will be read with interest, as it shews the importance attached by the Parliamentarians to the defeat of the Earl of Derby at Wigan, and as it accidentally betrays the fact that the Royalist newly-raised force, under the command of the Earl of Derby, was not very strong, but would have been “very strong in a short time,” had it not been for the defeat sustained. The letter and inclosed list of casualties read as follow :—

“Mr. Speaker,—My Lord Generall being pleased to command me to stay here to assist the well-affected against the Lord Derby, who was then at Warrington, in this county, with some considerable force both from the Isle of Man, and which he had from the Scots army, wherewith he did not only much encourage the enemies, but also discourage all the well-affected in these counties of Lancashire and Cheshire, and whereof he thought himselfe wholly master (as indeede he was), and none in those counties were able, or durst appear against him ; and began to beate drums and raise men in all places where he came, and would have been very strong in a short time, not only through the accesse of many Malignants, Papists, and disaffected persons, but that assistance the ministers and those who are called Presbyterians afforded, and would more abundantly have appeared, for they are the men who are

grown here more bitter and envious against you than others of the old Cavaliers stamp ; the power of the Almighty was very much seene in the total overthrow (I hope) of that wicked designe which was laid and hatched not only here, but through the whole North of England, which was getting into the like posture, as you may further understand by those papers I have here sent you ; but that God who hath all along appeared with us and for us, hath shewed himself very good and powerful in the discipating of this enemy, who was about fourteen to fifteen hundred strong ; I had only three companies of foot, about fifty or sixty dragoons, and about thirty horse from Liverpool, with my own wearied and somewhat scattered regiment through our tedious march from Scotland, and hard duty we had here. Yesterday morning, about eleven or twelve a clock in the night, the enemy marched from Preston, we lying within two or three miles of them, where we expected those supplies of forces which came not, some of our intelligence informing us the enemy were running away towards their army with what they had gotten ; we pursued them hither with some confidence that that intelligence was true, and the rather we believed it because of some discouragement we put upon them the day before ; but upon our approach hither we found it otherwise, for they were bending their course towards Manchester, where they had not only very great hopes of surprising my Lord Generall's regiment of foot, but also assurance of the assistance of five hundred men in and about that towne, but upon the sight of our near approach they unexpectedly put themselves in a posture of fighting with us, which then we endeavoured to decline, in regard to the very great advantage they had by their many foote and hedges, and the danger we apprehended my Lord Generall's Regiment of Foot at Manchester to be in, we were drawing off, thinking to have marched in the left flanke of them thither, to have gained a conjunction with our friends, who too, had order to march that day to me to Preston ; we had thought to have met them on the way, having sent several messengers to let them know both the enemies and our motion, but the enemy perceiving us to draw off, quickly advanced upon us with their horse and foot, which we perceiving, and that we could not goe off safely enough, we fell to dispute with them, which lasted almost one houre ; our horse being not able to doe any service but in lanes, and they overpowering us so much in foot, made the businesse very difficult that we hardly knew whose the day would be

for so long ; but therein was the salvation of God the more seen, and the greater opportunity we had to destroy them. I desire that he may have the praise and glory of that happy successe he was pleased to give unto his poor creatures. Having given you this narrative in general, which I thought it my duty to doe, this inclosed list will inform you further of the particulars. I desire the Lord would teach us to walke in some way answerable to those manifold and gracious dispensations he daily gives us experience of, and manifests his love to us, in that, His name may be magnified in all we doe in our several places and stations ; this great mercie to us here I hope is the earnest of his further tendernesse to the great concernment of all good people in this nation, which is the hearty desire of your faithfull and most humble servant to my power,—ROB. LILBURNE.

“This Bearer was all the while in the engagement, and is able to give you a further relation. I have not lost an officer in this engagement, but one corporal, and not above ten soldiers slaine, but very many wounded.

“Present these to the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esq., speaker of the Parliament of the Common Wealth of England.—Haste.

“A List of the Prisoners taken at Wigan, August 25th, 1651.—Col. Throgmorton, Col. Rich. Leg, Col. John Robinson, Col. Baynes, Col. Ratcliffe Garret, Adjutant General, Lieut.-Col. Francis Baynes, Lieut.-Col. Galliard, Lieut.-Col. Constable, Major Gower, Four Captains, 2 Lieutenants, One Quarter-master, Twenty Gentlemen and Reformadoes, 400 Private Prisoners.—All their Baggage and Sumptures, Armes and Ammunition, the L. Derbies three cloakes with stars, his George, Garter, and other Robes.—Slaine and dead since they were taken:—The L. Witherington, Major-Gen. Sir Thos. Tilsley, Col. Math. Boynton, Major Chester, Major Trollop, and divers others of quality, whose names are not yet brought in, besides 60 private men.”

It has already been stated that the Earl of Derby's force only numbered 600, whilst that of the enemy numbered altogether 3,000. The Earl of Derby's advance has been noticed as having been retarded by Lilburne's musketeers who lined the hedges, but at last two charges were made by the Earl, which cut through the enemy, and that in the third, Lord Witherington and Sir Thomas Tyldesley were slain. The known intention of Lord Derby to follow King Charles II. to Worcester, and the result of the battle in Wigan-lane

certainly favour the probability of the truth of the Royalist account. And it is worthy of observation that in all the letters and despatches issued by the Parliamentarians in Lancashire relative to the number and quality of the gentlemen who accompanied Lord Derby from the Isle of Man, they are represented in the most contemptible terms. One writer says, "The Earl of Derby after all the great noise is landed with 250 foot and 60 horse unarmed;" and a letter from Colonel Birch, governor of Liverpool, informs us "what a molehill that mountain, the Earle of Derby and his forces from the Isle of Man, doth prove, that is to say 60 poore horse and 250 foot;" and yet four days after the last quotation was penned, and nine days after the Earl's landing in Lancashire, when the Parliamentarians come to meet Lord Derby's force in the field, it is represented by Lilburne as superior to his own, apparently to magnify his victory.

Before proceeding to notice further the movements of Lord Derby after the battle in Wigan-lane, the reader will not deem it out of place, if we here give a few brief particulars respecting that gallant soldier, Sir Thomas Tyldesley, who, after his heroic death in the battle of Wigan-lane, by which he escaped death on the scaffold, was buried in the north chancel of the church of Leigh. Sir Thomas was a Royalist major-general, and a representative of a younger branch of the ancient Lancashire family of Tyldesley, in which township he appears to have inherited estates, possessing also Morley's Hall in Astley by descent from the Lelands, and Mierscough Lodge, near Lancaster, the latter being his residence. Of Sir Thomas, who was always a great favourite with the Earl of Derby, it has been observed that "his own brave actions would have supplied the want of ancestry, had he been otherwise born. He was one of those Cavaliers whose deeds are more suited to the pages of romance than history;" and the same writer also speaks of him as "the Bayard of Lancashire, the Knight *sans peur et sans reproche*." In memory of this gallant knight a pillar or monument was erected in 1679, about a quarter of a mile to the north of Wigan, in Wigan-lane, in the hedge fence on the east side of the lane, being the spot where he fell. It is said the original monument was defaced and removed about the middle of the last century, but was replaced by an inscription on a brass plate set in a piece of stone. In Adam's *Chester Courant*, of May 29th, 1750, a correspondent gives the following description of the original pillar:—"The pillar was of hewn stone, plain and quad-

angular, rising from a projecting base, and on its top is the neck of a conick pedestal. A stone globe on the front of it, towards the west, has a vacancy of about 18 inches square, and two inches deep, which seemed to have contained some inscribed marble, or flat stone, which had been injuriously carried off; yet the stone was left. Sometime ago I was passing that way, and to my no little surprise observed that this monument itself was taken down, and totally moved away, so that even its situation is not now to be discerned." The writer seems to have found the slab taken from the front of the monument in a neighbouring public-house. The slab was of black marble, and the letters had been gilt, and the inscription read as under:—

A high act of gratitude erected this monument, and
conveys the memory of Sir Thos. Tyldesley
to posterity,
who served King C. 1st, as Left. Col. at Edghill battell,
after raised Regiments of horse, foot, and dragoons,
and for the desperate storming of Burton upon Trent
over a bridge of 36 arches
Received the honour of Knighthood.
He after served in all the wars in great commands
Was Governor of Litchfield
and followed the fortunes of the Crown thro' the
3 Kingdoms
would never compound with the rebels tho' strongly
invested
and on the 25th Augt., 1650,*
was here slain commanding as Major Genl. under
the E. of Derby,
to whom the grateful erector
Alexr. Rigby, Esqre.† was Cornet,
and when he was High Sheriff of the Co. of Lancaster
anno 1679, placed his high obligation
on the whole family of the Tyldesleys.

Without questioning the truth of what the correspondent of Adam's *Chester Courant* may have seen, it is pleasing to find that posterity has not suffered the spot where Sir Thomas Tyldesley fell to be entirely forgotten or unmarked, for at the present moment a monument, a plain quadrangular stone pillar, something similar to the one described above, perpetuates the memory and worth of that gallant patriot and Cavalier, this monument being situated in a garden fronting Wigan-lane, about a quarter of a mile from the town. The height of the monument, from the base of the pedestal to the top of the stone globe, with which it is surmounted, is about ten feet, and a canopied panel, about midway of the shaft, and on the west side of it, facing the lane, is let in a white

* Should be 1651.

† Alexander Rigby, of Lapton, near Poulton, in Lancashire, served the office of sheriff in the year 1677-1678, and again in 1691. He does not appear to have been of the same family as the Rigbys of Preston. He was taken prisoner in the battle of Wigan-lane, and is, unquestionably, the person styled Lt.-Col. Rigby of Heath. Mr. Rigby married the daughter of Sir Gilbert Hoghton.

marble slab bearing the above inscription, now very indistinct, and set out or displayed in thirty lines, the whole being protected from the lane by a high iron palisading. What portion, if any, of the present monument may have formed part of the original, said to have been removed about 1750, is not known.

The house into which the Earl of Derby fled from his pursuers after the battle in Wigan-lane was that now generally known as the Dog Inn, in the Market-place; and, at that time, we are told, there was an upper room belonging to the house into which the wounded Earl took refuge, which received the name of "Beeston Castle," and it was in this apartment that the Earl had his wounds dressed previously to his departure towards Worcester. If the representations at the present time be correct the apartment which afforded refuge to the Earl was a room immediately over the present kitchen of the Dog Inn, the floor of which has been removed and so thrown open to the kitchen, and the stranger visiting that hostelry is shewn a recess or cupboard in the kitchen chimney, about seven feet above the kitchen fireplace, the door of which is always open, as being the very spot in which the Earl secreted himself during the search made for him by his pursuers. At about two o'clock the following morning, having disguised himself, the Earl proceeded on his journey to Worcester, leaving behind him a brass plate containing the arms of the Isle of Man, encircled by the Garter, bearing the inscription *Honi soit qui mal y pense*. This plate remained at the Dog Inn till the year 1824, when it was sold to Edward Smith-Stanley, the twelfth Earl of Derby, and grandfather to the present Earl, by a descendant of the family that had afforded refuge to Earl James, and was conveyed to Knowsley, and, though much defaced, is an interesting and valuable relic of the unfortunate Earl.

The first shelter to the Earl after his departure from Wigan was given by a Royalist family near Newport, in Shropshire, a few hundred yards from the Staffordshire border, and the particulars of his arrival and reception there, as given in the *Boscobel Tracts*, cannot fail to be interesting to the reader. "After some days," says the writer, "my lord (the Earl of Derby) with Colonel Roscarrock and two servants, got into the confines of Staffordshire and Shropshire, near Newport, where at one Mr. Watson's house he met with Mr. Richard Snead (an honest gentleman of that county, and of his lordship's acquaintance), to whom he recounted the misfortune of his

defeat at Wigan, and the necessity of taking some rest, if Mr. Snead could recommend his lordship to any private house near at hand, where he might safely continue till he could find an opportunity to go to his majesty. Mr. Snead brought my lord and his company to Boscobel House, a very obscure habitation, situate in Shropshire, but adjoining upon Staffordshire, and lying between Tong Castle and Brewood, in a kind of wilderness. John Giffard, Esq., who first built this house, invited Sir Basil Brook, with other friends and neighbours, to a house-warming feast, at which time Sir Basil was desired by Mr Giffard to give the house a name, he aptly calls it 'Boscobel' (from the Italian *Bosco-bello*, which in that language signifies fair wood), because seated in the midst of many fair woods. At this place the Earl arrived on the 29th of August (being Friday), at night; but the house at that time afforded no inhabitant except William Penderell, the house-keeper, and his wife, who, to preserve so eminent a person, freely adventured to receive my lord, and kept him in safety till Sunday night following, when (according to my lord's desire of going to Worcester) he conveyed him to Mr. Humphrey Elliot's house at Gataker Park (a true-hearted royalist), which was about nine miles on the way from Boscobel thither. Mr. Elliot did not only cheerfully entertain the Earl, but lent him ten pounds, and conducted him and his company safe to Worcester."

The King, at the head of an army of about 14,000, being principally the forces which had accompanied him from Scotland, reached Worcester on the 22nd of August, where he established his head-quarters, and issued a declaration, calling upon the nobility, gentry, and others of every degree to hasten to his standard, the declaration being dated "in the third year of our reign." Not having had, however, any previous concert or correspondence with the Royalists of the district, and owing to the terror the Parliamentary army had produced, the King was unable to strengthen his army to any great extent; whilst Cromwell, who was in command of a powerful army of 30,000 men, in little more than a week after Charles had issued his proclamation, having followed in the track of the Royalist forces from Scotland, came up with him, and encamped on Redhill, a rising undulating ground not more than half-a-mile eastward of the city of Worcester.

It was on the night of Sunday, the 31st of August, after having been two days at the House of Boscobel, that the Earl of Derby, with his wounds, received in the battle of Wigan-

lane, yet green and sore, "set off with the impatience of a gallant spirit" to join the King at Worcester, where he arrived on the 2nd of September, being the eve of the approaching battle.

On the following day, being Wednesday, the 3rd of September, and the first anniversary of Cromwell's victory at Dunbar, the Royalists, perceiving that several detachments of the enemy were separated from the main body of the army by the waters of the Team and Severn, determined upon an attack before their apparently only chance past away by the concentration of the Parliamentarians. After a severe and general engagement, which was bravely contested for some hours by the rival armies, the King's forces were repulsed on both sides of the river, and forced back into the city, horse and foot mingling together in wild confusion in the streets, which were strewn with the dead; and the Duke of Hamilton,* a nobleman of great bravery and honour, was mortally wounded, and died at Worcester nine days after the battle; and Colonel Massey† was also wounded and taken prisoner. The King, in the struggle, gave many proofs of personal valour; but finding his solicitations to inspire his troops with resolution to resist the army of Cromwell were fruitless, and seeing the cavalry of the enemy breaking into the city, he fled with a small squadron of cavalry through St. Martin's-gate, at the north-east of the city; and his defeated army, after about 3,000 had been slain, was dispersed in every direction, and nearly all, or at least 8,000, were taken prisoners; and Hume informs us that "the country people, inflamed with national antipathy, put to death the few that escaped out of the field of battle."

It was six o'clock in the evening when the King left Worcester, and, without halting, he travelled about twenty-six miles, being attended by fifty or sixty of his devoted friends, one of whom was the Earl of Derby, who had attended his Majesty through the whole of the battle, and displayed in the struggle his accustomed dauntless bravery.

A brief summary of the romantic and hazardous adventures of the fugitive King to escape from the country, occupying about six weeks, cannot be omitted here, as the security of

* William, the second Duke of Hamilton, was brother of James, the first Duke of Hamilton, who was taken prisoner at Uttoxeter, in August, 1648, after the battle at Preston, and beheaded in Old Palace Yard, March 9th, 1649.

† Major-General Edward Massey, was, at the commencement of the Civil War, an active Parliamentarian, and the celebrated governor of Gloucester during its siege by Charles I., and afterwards as active a Royalist, and was, to use the words of Clarendon, "looked upon as a Martyr for the Presbyterian interest." He was the fifth son of John Massey, of Coddington in Cheshire, by Anne, daughter of Richard Grosvenor of Eaton.

Charles was mainly owing to the care and advice of the Earl of Derby. A circumstantial narrative of the King's adventures, written from his own dictation after he was securely seated on the throne of England as Charles II., is handed down to us by the inquisitive and amusing Samuel Pepys, who, on account of his extensive knowledge of naval matters, was appointed secretary to the admiralty ; and Lord Clarendon has also given an account of the adventures of the King as related to his lordship by the King himself, and these two accounts in the main facts substantially agree.

On the night after the unfortunate battle of Worcester, it seems the King reached the borders of Staffordshire, where, for more secrecy and greater security, he separated from the majority of his companions ; and, after spending the night in a neighbouring dwelling, called Whiteladies, about three-quarters of a mile from Boscobel House, from its having been formerly a monastery of Cistercian nuns, the next morning he was conducted by the Earl of Derby to Boscobel House, situated near Bridgnorth, about 140 miles from the metropolis, where the Earl himself had been kindly entertained on his journey to Worcester, and on meeting with his simple but honest and faithful friend and late host, William Penderell, the Earl confidentially addressed him in the following terms,—“This is the King. Thou must have a care of him, and preserve him, as thou didst me.” Thus the King, like the Earl had been, was committed to the care and fidelity of William Penderell, the farmer, and of his wife and four brothers, who were all entrusted with the secret, and the Earl of Derby then took leave of the royal fugitive for ever.

The King's long hair was now cut off ; his hands and face were stained ; his clothes were carefully secreted ; and in the common garb of a rustic, like their own, and carrying a bill hook in his hand as a woodcutter, he accompanied the Penderells* to their daily toil. Boscobel House was immediately surrounded by a troop of Parliamentary pursuers, and closely examined. The day was spent in Spring-coppice, an adjoining wood ; but the day being rainy, it was not entered by the military searchers. Weary with exertion and excite-

* When Charles became seated on the throne he rewarded the Penderells for their loyalty in protecting him after the battle of Worcester. Burke, in his *Anecdotes of the Aristocracy*, chapter “Traditions of Heraldry,” vol. ii., p. 38 (1850), observes:—“To the Penderells, the humble but no less faithful protectors of the fugitive prince, was assigned for arms, ‘Arg. on a mount, an oak tree, ppr.’ * * * The pension of 100 marks, granted at the same time to Richard Penderell, still continues to be paid to his representative, and several members of the family, in various conditions of life, have been connected for some generations with the county of Sussex. ‘One of them,’ (says Mr. Lower, in his *Curiosities of Heraldry*), a few years since kept an inn at Lewes, bearing the sign of the Royal Oak.’”

ment, Charles reposed upon a blanket beneath a tree, where a sister of the faithful Penderells brought him such a repast as her humble home would afford—bread, milk, butter, and eggs. Having conceived the idea of endeavouring to enter Wales and reach the coast, by that route he commenced the journey on foot, in company with one of the Penderells, when the darkness had fully set in. By midnight, the royal fugitive and his guide gained the house of a gentleman at Madeley, who was apprized of the rank of the fugitive. The following day was passed behind the hay and corn in a barn, while the guide went out to ascertain the state of the weather. It was now found necessary to abandon the idea of entering Wales, as all the passes of the Severn were vigorously and carefully watched, and the boats secured. On the following night, Charles and his attendant, Penderell, retraced their wearied steps to Boscobel, where the King met with a refugee Royalist, Major Careless. As the Parliamentary troops were scouring the country in search of the King, for a better concealment of his person, he and his companions agreed to spend the succeeding day in a great oak, from the King's own account, a pollard oak, which, having been lopped some years before, had grown out bushy and thick. Accordingly they mounted the oak, and remained hid by the foliage for the space of twenty-four hours, their provisions consisting of bread, cheese, and beer. Whilst in this melancholy position, they saw and heard soldiers, as they passed by, talking of the King, and expressing their earnest wishes that they might be able to meet with him and seize him. This memorable oak was afterwards denominated the "Royal Oak." The old oak tree, which was regarded in the neighbourhood with great veneration, perished some years ago from natural decay, but one of its progeny still flourishes near the same spot, and is walled round for preservation; and that part of Boscobel House which rendered such essential service to the King is still shewn. This romantic and interesting adventure of the "merry monarch," Charles II., is annually commemorated on the 29th of May, being the anniversary of the Restoration, when the Royalists displayed the branch of oak, owing to the tree being instrumental in the King's preservation. Charles, whilst in his retreat at Boscobel, was almost in the middle of the kingdom, and could neither stay in his retreat nor move a step from it without the most imminent danger; he, however, at length ventured forth, and joining himself with Lord Wilmot, who was wandering in the neighbourhood, they

resolved to put themselves in the hands of Colonel Lane, a zealous Royalist, who resided at Bentley, a few miles distant. The King's feet were much hurt, we are informed, by walking about in the heavy boots of the farm labourer, which did not fit him. Lane formed a scheme for the King's journey to Bristol, and obtaining a pass for his sister, Jane Lane, and a servant to travel thither under a pretence of visiting a Mrs. Norton, a near relative residing there; and the King, disguised, rode before the lady, and personated the servant. From Bristol he gained the south coast, and, after many wanderings, at last embarked in a collier at Shoreham, and was safely landed at Fécamp, in Normandy, on the 17th October.

The Earl of Derby, on leaving the King to the care of the Penderells, turned his horse with all speed towards Lancashire, being accompanied by Lord Lauderdale* and a few others; but before the Earl and his companions had gained the borders of Cheshire, they were met near Nantwich and attacked by a regiment of foot and a troop of horse belonging to Colonel Lilburne's force, under the command of Capt. Oliver Edge, who were marching towards Worcester, to whom, after a short dispute with the enemy, the Earl of Derby and his companions, after making themselves known, surrendered on a promise of quarter for life, and honourable usage upon giving up their arms as prisoners of war.†

The Earl of Derby was now conducted to Chester Castle, and confined as a prisoner, which appears to have been a subject of great congratulation to several of the Lancashire Parliamentary leaders in Lancashire, particularly to Bradshaw, Rigby,‡ and Birch, who seemed determined to be revenged

* John Maitland, Earl, and afterwards Duke of Lauderdale, was taken prisoner with the Earl of Derby and remained a prisoner nine years, until released by Monk at the Restoration. He became Prime Minister in 1670, and retained power until 1682, the year of his death.

† The surrender of the Earl of Derby is thus narrated in the memoirs of Captain Hodson, of Coley, said to be present on the occasion, the place being the road about half a mile south of Nantwich:—(*Original Memoirs during the Great Civil War*, p. 154). "They (meaning the Scots party) were by computation about five or six hundred men, and our musketeers would have gone into the lane, and taken by the bridle the best like person they saw, and brought him out without a stroke, so low was the Scot brought. But the most remarkable thing was, one *Oliver Edge*, one of our captains, had a mind to see what became of the foalern, hearing such a great firing; and viewing them very busy, he spies a party of horse behind him in the fields, and having no order to be there, he retreats towards the regiment, but they called upon him and asked if he was an officer; and drawing towards them about eighteen or twenty horsemen lighted, and told him they would surrender themselves prisoners; there was the *Earl of Derby*, the *Earl of Lauderdale*, *Sinclair*, and a fourth. These became prisoners to one single captain; but the soldiers fell in with him immediately."

‡ It is said of Alexander Rigby, of Burgh, that he was of mean parentage, and doubtful reputation. He deserted the profession of the law, and taking up that of arms, displayed a union of qualities rarely to be met with in the same person. He was insolent, yet abounding in courage, full of energy, though not deficient in patience, the possessor of commanding talents, yet commonly working his way by the lowest artifices; and it is

for some supposed or real ill-treatment. Seacombe states that the malice of Henry Bradshaw, Rigby, and Birch towards the Earl of Derby, originated, as to Bradshaw, in a refusal of the vice-chamberlainship of Chester; as to Rigby, in his ill-success at Lathom, and as to Birch, in Lord Derby having trailed him under his hay cart, at Manchester, already alluded to. These three, assisted by Sir Richard Hoghton, the son of the loyal and venerable Sir Gilbert Hoghton, of Hoghton Tower, represented to Cromwell the impolicy and danger of suffering the Earl of Derby to be at large, now that he had fallen into their hands, and so, therefore, moved for and obtained a commission to have him tried by a military court of inquiry, or pretended court-martial, consisting of twelve sequestrators and committee-men, packed together by their own appointment.

The Countess of Derby was still at the Isle of Man, and during the Earl's confinement and preparation for his trial at Chester, he addressed to his heroic Countess the following touching letter, which gives, in his own words, the particulars of the misfortunes which had recently overtaken him:—

“My dear Heart,—It hath been my sad hap, since I left you, not to have one line of comfort from you, which hath been most afflictive to me; and this, and what I further write you, must be a mass of many things in one.

“I will not stay long on particulars, but, in short, inform you that the King is dead, or narrowly escaped in disguise; whether, not yet known. All the nobles of the party killed or taken, save a few, and it matters not much where they be: the common soldiers are dispersed, some in prison, some sent to other nations, and none like to serve any more on the same score. I escaped a great danger at Wigan, but met with a worse at Worcester: being not so fortunate as to meet any that would kill me, and thereby have put me out of the reach of envy and malice. Lord Lauderdale and I having escaped, hired horses, and falling into the enemy's hands, were not thought worth killing, but had quarter given us by one Captain Edge, a Lancashire man, and one that was so civil to me, that I, and all that love me, are beholding to him.

“I thought myself happy in being sent prisoner to Chester, where I might have the comfort of seeing my two daughters, and to find means of sending to you; but I fear my coming

observed of him that “neither education nor intercourse with the world could efface the original meanness of his dispositions; and the unrelenting hatred with which, in every passage of life he pursued Lord Derby, amply justifies the treatment he has received from the Cavaliers.” Rigby married the sister of Colonel Birch.

here may cost me dear, unless Almighty God, in whom I trust, will please to help me some other way ; but whatsoever come of me, I have peace in my own breast, and no discomfort at all, but the afflictive sense I have of your grief, and that of my poor children.

“Colonel Duckinfield, governor of this town, is going, according to his orders from the parliament, general to the Isle of Man; where he will make known to you his business.

“I have considered your condition, and my own, and therefore give you this advice.

“Take it not as from a prisoner, for, if I am never so close confined, my heart is my own, free still as the best, and I scorn to be compelled to your prejudice, though by the severest tortures ; I have procured Baggerley, who was prisoner in this town, to come over to you with my letter ; I have told him my reasons, and he will tell you them, which done, may save the spilling of blood in that island, and, it may be, of some here dear to you ; but of that take no care, neither treat at all, for I perceive it will do you more hurt than good.

“Have a care, my dear soul, of yourself, and of my dear Mall, Ned, and Billy ;* as for those here, I will give them the best advice I can ; it is not with us as heretofore. My son, with his spouse, and my nephew Stanley, have come to see me ; of them all I will say nothing at this time, excepting that my son shews great affection, and is gone to London, with exceeding concern and passion for my good ; he is changed much for the better, I thank God, and it would have been a greater comfort to me if I could have left him more, or if he had provided better for himself.

“The discourse I have had here of the Isle of Man has produced the inclosed or at least such desires of mine, as I hope Baggerley will deliver to you upon oath to be mine ; and truly, as matters go, it will be the best for you to make condition for yourself, children, and friends, in the manner as we have proposed, or as you can further agree with Colonel Duckinfield, who, being so much a gentleman born, will doubtless, for his own honour, deal fairly with you.

“You know how much that place is my darling, but since it is God’s will to dispose in the manner it is, of this nation and Ireland too, there is nothing further to be said of the Isle of Man, but to refer all to the will of God ; and to procure the best conditions you can for yourself, and our poor family

* The children prisoners at Chester were the Ladies Katherine and Amelia Sophia.

and friends there, and those that came over with me; and so trusting in the assistance and goodness of God, begin the world again, though near to winter, whose cold and piercing blasts are much more tolerable, than the malicious approaches of a poisoned serpent, or an inveterate or malign enemy; from whose power the Lord of heaven bless you, and preserve you; God Almighty comfort you and my poor children; and the Son of God, whose blood was shed for our good, preserve your lives; that by the good-will and mercy of God, we may meet once more upon earth, and last in the kingdom of heaven, where we shall be for ever free from all rapine, plunder, and violence; and so I rest everlastingly.—Your most faithful

“DERBY.

“September 10, 1651.”

The success which had attended the Parliamentary army gained for Cromwell great glory and favour with his party, and he became absolutely the head of the Commonwealth, even whilst he had only the title of general; and he received from the Parliament, as an acknowledgment of his services at Worcester, the grant of an estate, with Hampton Court as a place of residence.

The Parliament having responded favourably, of course, to the petition of “the bloody president” Bradshaw, Rigby, Birch, and Sir Richard Hoghton, as already noticed, to have the Earl of Derby tried by a court-martial, his judges were appointed, in pursuance of the Parliamentary commission, with all haste, special care, however, being taken to exclude all Lancashire men from being members of such court-martial, so that all who should be honoured with such judiciary dignity should be known to be the Earl’s enemies, or the ready tools of his enemies; so that the condemnation of the noble and loyal prisoner would be a foregone conclusion, and his doom certain.

The following are the names of the individuals forming the Parliamentary court-martial for the trial and condemnation of the Earl of Derby and such of those who surrendered with him as the Parliament thought worthy of extermination or banishment:—President, Colonel Humphrey Mackworth, of Betton-Strange, Shropshire, a descendant of the Mackworths of Mackworth Castle, in Derbyshire; Major-General Mitton, of Halston, Shropshire; Colonel Robert Duckinfield, then governor of Chester; Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Bradshaw, of Marple and Wyberslegh, Cheshire, who had been attached to one of the Cheshire Parliamentary militia regiments at

Worcester, and was father of Henry Bradshaw, who purchased Bradshaw Hall, in Lancashire, in 1693; Colonel Thomas Croxton, of Ravenscroft, of one of the Cheshire militia regiments raised in 1650, governor of Chester in 1659, and the representative of an ancient family of Cheshire; Colonel George Twistleton, of Shropshire; Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Birkenhead, of Backford, Cheshire, and a magistrate of that county; Lieutenant-Colonel Finch; Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Newton, belonging to one of the Cheshire militia regiments commanded in the battle of Worcester by Colonel Henry Bradshaw, of Marple; and the following captains belonging to the Cheshire regiments of militia, embodied on the occasion of what is called Hamilton's Irruption in 1648, —James Stoford, Samuel Smith, John Downes, John Delves, John Griffith, Thomas Portlington, Edward Alcock, Ralph Powell, Richard Grantham, Edward Stolfax, and Vinent Corbett.

The Earl of Derby was arraigned before this court-martial on the 1st of October, and charged with high treason against the Commonwealth to the following effect:—"That he, James, Earl of Derby, had traitorously borne arms for Charles Stuart, against the Parliament; that he was guilty of a breach of an Act of Parliament of the 12th August, 1651, prohibiting all correspondence with Charles Stuart, or any of his party; that he had fortified his house at Lathom against the Parliament; and that he now held the Isle of Man against the Parliament."

The Earl having heard the charges preferred against him before his judges, he was removed from the court to the apartment allotted to him in the Castle, whence he was again brought for trial before the court-martial on the 11th of October, when he reminded the court that, on the surrendering of himself to Captain Edge as a prisoner, he had "quarter for life" given to him, and therefore ought not to be tried by a court-martial for life; and pleaded ignorance of the acts of treason set forth in the indictment made by the Parliament. The Earl, in his defence, addressed the court in the following words:—

"Sir,—I understand myself to be convened before you, as well by a commission from your general, as by an act of parliament of the twelfth of August last.

"To the articles exhibited against me, I have given a full and ingenuous answer.

"What may present itself for my advantage, I have gained liberty to offer and urge my advice; and I doubt not, but in

a matter of law, the court will be to me instead of council in court.

"Sir,—I shall observe to you the nature and general order of a court-martial, and the laws and actions of it, as far as concerns my case, and then shall apply my plea to such orders.

"And therefore I conceive (under favour) that the laws of courts-martial are, as the laws of nature and nations, equally binding on all persons military, and to be observed inviolably.

"And there it is, if a judgment be given in one court-martial, there is no appeal to any other court-martial.

"Of which law martial, the civil law gives a plentiful account, far above what the common law doth. *Grotius de jure belli, &c.* But because it is one only point of martial law, which I am to insist upon for my life, I shall name it, and debate the just right of it, as quarter for life, given by Captain Edge, which I conceive to be a good bar to a trial for life by a council of war.

"That quarter was given me, if scrupled, I am ready to prove; and that it is pleadable, is above dispute.

"I shall only remove one objection, which is, that though this be a court-martial, yet, the special nature of it is directed by parliament.

"To this I answer, though the parliament directed the trial as it is, yet, it is to be considered as a court-martial, which cannot divest itself, nor is divested of its own nature by any such direction.

"For to appoint a court-martial to proceed by any other laws than a court-martial can, is a repugnancy in *natura rei*.

"As such a court-martial retains its own proper laws and jurisdiction for the support of itself; so the pleas and liberties incident to it, cannot be denied the prisoner.

"That quarter, and such quarter as I had given me is a good plea for life to a council of war, I shall not endeavour so much to evince by authors, that being the proper work of the learned in civil law; but by such way as we call *jus gentium*, is proved by common practice and strong reasons.

"For the first, I shall not need to bring foreign instances, being before you, whose experience hath made this thing familiar to you.

"And I believe you will agree with me, that I am not only the first peer, but the first man, tried by a court-martial after quarter given; unless some matter, *ex post facto*, or subsequent to such quarter, brought them within the examination of such court-martial.

“And (as I am informed) upon the great trial of the Earl of Cambridge, Lord Capel, the Earl of Holland, and others, the plea of quarter being strongly urged, it was only avoided on this ground, that it was no good plea against a civil jurisdiction, there being no colour of dispute tacitly admitted, and concluded that it was a good plea against a military jurisdiction.

“And though the Lord Capel and Lord Goring’s quarter seemed to have some advantage, being given by the general as by way of articles ; yet, the quarter given to the Earl of Cambridge, was given him by a particular captain, and that quarter (as such considered) as strong as the other, only both avoided by the civil jurisdiction ; it being a rule in war, that quarter hath as much force (being given in action) as articles in a cessation, both irreversible by any military power.

“And though it be a maxim in politics, that no general or soldier’s concession shall prejudice the state interest, yet they shall be bars to their power.

“I confess I love the law of peace more than that of war ; yet, in this case, I must adhere to those of war.

“And I would only know, whether quarter was given me for a benefit or a mischief ? If for a benefit, I am now to have it made good ; if for a mischief, it destroys the faith of all men in arms.

“And I have read this, as a maxim in war, that promises made by kings and state commanders, ought to be observed inviolably, or else there never will be any yielding.

“And I shall lay this before you, as a rule, that quarter given by the meanest soldier (if not forbidden) obliges as far as if the general had done it himself.

“It may be objected, then, that it may rest in the power of any private soldier, by giving quarter, to pardon treason.

“To this I say, I plead it not as an absolute pardon, but as a bar to a court-martial ; and here I shall infer, farther, from conclusion of treasons.

“The profession of a soldier hath danger enough in it, and he need not to add anything to it to destroy the right of arms.

“I am before you as a court-martial ; it may be, some or most of you have in some action or other since the troubles began, received quarter for your lives : then would it not be hard measure that any court-martial should try you afterwards ?

“If this quarter should be foiled or nulled, all the treaties, articles, terms, or conclusions, since the war began, may be examinable by any subsequent court-martial.

"Nay, more than this, the sword, the law of arms, all military interest, and your own safety, are judged and jeopardied as well as mine.

"But I shall not multiply, presuming you will not judge by laws of war, in which capacity only you sit ; and that your religion and common justice allow that plea which is universal and even allowable in all parts of the world.

"If you be dissatisfied, I pray (as an essential to justice) I may have a doctor of the civil law assigned me, or at least have liberty to produce their books of opinions ; and that in the interim you suspend your sentence.

"Touching levying of forces in the Isle of Man, and invading England, I might myself (and that truly) be a stranger to all the acts for treason ; and in particular to the acts of the twelfth of August.

"And that the Isle of Man is not particularly named in any of the acts touching treason ; and not being particularly named, those acts reach it not, nor bind those of that island.

"And especially, that I was not in the Isle of Man when the last act was made ; and the law looks not backward ; and while I was in England, I was under an unlikelihood, and even impossibility of knowing the new acts.

"And in martial law *ignorantia juris*, is a good plea, which I leave to judgment ; having, as to the matter of fact, confessed and submitted to the mercy of the parliament.

"I do, as to your military power, earnestly plead quarter, as a bar to your further trial of me ; and doubt not, but you will deeply weigh a point so considerable both to your consciences and concerns, before you proceed to sentence, and admit my appeal to his Excellency Lord General Cromwell, in this single point."

The Earl having concluded his defence, the court, without deliberating on the points raised, or considering whether his plea against the power of the court-martial, after quarter given by a field officer, was valid according to the axioms of military law, at once overruled the objections raised in arrest of judgment ; and, being instigated by the malicious president, John Bradshaw (who was younger brother of Colonel Bradshaw, one of the members of the sitting court-martial), and his vindictive confederates, summed up the Earl's alleged offences and pronounced his sentence of death in the following form :—

"1. That James, Earl of Derby, is guilty of the breach of the said Act of the 12th of August last past, entitled 'An Act prohibiting correspondence with Charles Stuart or his

party,* and so of High Treason against the Common Wealth of England, and is therefore worthy of death.

"2. Resolved, &c., that the said James, Earl of Derby, is a Traitor to the Common Wealth of England, and an abettor, encourager, and assister of the declared traitors and enemies thereof, and shall be put to death by severing his head from his body at the market place in the town of Boulton, in Lancashire, upon Wednesday, the 15th of this instant October, about the hour of one of the clock of the same day."

In the sentence as given by Whitelock, after the word Bolton, it reads, "where he had killed a man in cold blood," meaning Captain Bootle, who was killed in the assault on Bolton by Prince Rupert. As the incident which gave rise to this implication formed no part of the charges brought against the Earl, it is only reasonable to conclude that the words supplied by Whitelock formed no part of the sentence. In appointing Bolton as the place of execution, however, it would seem that his judges intended such an implication, for we find that Benbow, who was sentenced by the same tribunal, was ordered to be shot at Shrewsbury on a somewhat similar principle, and was executed in the place where he had once scaled the Castle walls in the service of the Parliament, but from which he subsequently deserted and joined himself to the cause of Charles II. at Worcester. Had the Earl been guilty of the act supposed to be implied by the selection of Bolton as the place of execution, it would, doubtless, have formed both a part of the indictment and of the sentence. The Earl, however, as we shall shortly have to notice, disavows, in the most solemn form, that he was guilty of the act thus unjustly cast upon him, and even begs a respite for his life on that issue.

No sooner had the court-martial at Chester condemned its illustrious victim to die at Bolton than endeavours were made by friends about the Earl to save his life; and, for this object, interest of every kind, consistent with honour, was had recourse to; and many who had joined themselves to the Parliamentary cause now began to manifest some concernment for a nobleman who had not only risked his personal happiness and vast estates on behalf of the Royal cause, but was now doomed to forfeit his life for the exemplary consistency and sincerity of his loyalty. An appeal, apparently dictated by

* The title of the Act cited in the sentence of the Earl reads thus:—"Correspondence with Charles Stuart or his party prohibited, under pain of High Treason, and to be proceeded against by a Council of War," &c. The Act, which was passed on the 12th of August, 1651, was to continue in force till the 1st of December of the same year.

the Earl's friends and advisers, was prepared for Cromwell as Lord-General, a copy of which, as given by contemporary journalists, is here subjoined :—

“To the Right Honourable His Excellency the Lord General Cromwell.—The Humble Petition of James, Earl of Derby, a Sentenced Prisoner in Chester,—

“Shewing,—That it appeareth by the annexed what plea your Petitioner hath urged for Life, in which the Court Martial here were pleased to overrule him, it being a matter of law, and a point not adjudged nor presided in all this Warre; and the plea being only capable of appeale to your Excellency whose wisdom will safely resolve it, and your Petitioner being also a Prisoner to the High Court of Parliament in relation to his rendition of the Isle of Man, in all he most humbly craves your Excellency's Grace, that he may as well obtain your Excellency's judgment on his plea as the Parliament's mercy, with your Excellencies favour to him, and he shall owe his life to your Lordship's service, and ever pray, &c.

“DERBY.”

In addition to the foregoing, a letter was prepared for the Speaker of the House of Commons, to be read before Parliament. The letter forms the Tanner MS. 55, p. 81, in the Bodleian Library, and is supposed to have been written throughout by Lord Derby. This important communication reads as under :—

“Sr,—Being now, by the will of God, for aught I know, brought to the last minutes of my life, I once more most humbly pray the Parliament will be pleased to hear me before my death.

“I plead nothing in vindication of my offences, but humbly cast mysef downe at the Parliament's feete, begging their mercy.

“I have severall times adrest my humble petitions for life, and now again crave leave to submit mysef to their mercy, with the assurances that the Isle of Man shall be given up to such hands as the Parliament entrust to receive it: with this further engagement, (which I shall confirm by sureties), that I shall never act or endeavour any thing against the establisht power of this nation; but end my daies in prison or banisht, as the house shall think fit.

“Sr, it is a greater affliction to me than death itselfe, that I am sentenct to die at Bolton; so that the nation will look upon me as a sacrifice for that blood w^{ch} some have unjustly cast upon me, and from w^{ch} I hope I am acquitted in your

opinions and the judgment of good men, having cleared my selfe by undeniable evidence.

"Indeed, at my triall it was never mentioned against me, and yet they adjudge me to suffer at Bolton, as if indeed I had bin guilty. I beg a respite for my life on that issue, y^t if I doe not acquit my selfe from that imputation, let me die without mercy.

"But, S^r, if the Parliament have not this mercy for me, I humbly pray the place appointed for my death may be altered, and that if the Parliam^t thinke it not fit to give me time to live, they will be pleased to give me time to die, in respiting my life for some time whilst I may fit my selfe for death; since thus long I have bin perswaded by Col. Duckinfield the Parl^t would give me my life. S^r, I submit my selfe, my family, wife, and children to the mercy of the Parliam^t and shall live or die, S^r,

"Your contented and humble Servant,

"Octob. 11, 1651.

"DERBYE."

[*On the margin.*] "S^r, I humbly beg the favour that the petition of a dyeing man, inclosed, may by your favour be read in the house.

"For the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esq^r., Speaker of the Parliam^t of the Common Wealth of England."

The letter is thus endorsed by another and later hand—"A l^{re} from y^c Earle of Derby of y^e 11th of October, 1651, w^h y^c Peticion of y^e said Earle of Derby.—Rec^d 14 Octobr. 1651."

The court-martial having ordered the sentence to be put into execution on the 15th, being only the fourth day after sentence of death had been passed, affords a conclusive proof that it had been predetermined to deprive the Earl of all possible chance of a successful appeal to the Parliament; and Lord Strange and the Earl's friends knowing this to be the intention of the Earl's enemies, lost no time in the preparations for proceeding to convey the foregoing and other documents to their intended destinations. Relays of horses having been provided at different places on the way beforehand, Lord Strange, accompanied by one of the Earl's chaplains, the Rev. Ralph Brideoake, proceeded with all haste to London, where, after riding all night, he arrived on the following day (Sunday), probably about noon.

Besides the documents just noticed, it is stated that the good offices of Colonel Henry Bradshaw, a member of the

court-martial that condemned the Earl to die, and the elder brother of the infamous President Bradshaw, were solicited and readily obtained, and he also wrote a letter on behalf of the Earl to President Bradshaw; but the malice of such a monster was not to be overcome even by the influence and entreaties of a brother.

It is stated that the Earl, feeling convinced that the exertions of his son and friends would not have the desired effect with his enemies in London, attempted an escape from the leads of Chester Castle, but was retaken on the Dee bank,* and was afterwards strictly watched and kept a close prisoner. This attempt to escape probably took place on the evening of Saturday, the 11th October, after the departure of Lord Strange for London.

On Sunday the Earl spent the whole of the day in religious reading and devotional exercises; and on the following day, Monday, the 13th of October, he wrote his two last letters to his Countess and to the three children with her in the Isle of Man. These letters, being so touchingly expressive of a husband's and a father's tenderness and anxious solicitude, of a Christian patriot's resignation, and of the magnanimity arising from conscious integrity and true and unflinching consistency, will excite and enlist the sympathy of every generous reader and hearer; but, as it has been appropriately observed, the husband and the father alone can fully appreciate the genuine pathos and melting sensibility of a kindred spirit, breathing its last wishes and prayers for a wife and children so affectionately and deservedly beloved.

The letter to the Countess is as follows:—

“Chester, October 13th, 1651.

“My dear Heart,—I have hitherto sent you comfortable lines, but, alas, I have now no word of comfort; saving to our last and best refuge, which is Almighty God, to whose will we must submit: and when we consider how He has disposed of these nations, and the government thereof, we have no more to do but to lay our hands upon our mouths judging ourselves, and acknowledging our sins, joining with others, to have been the cause of these miseries, and to call on Him with tears for mercy.

“The governor of this place, Colonel Duckinfield, is general of the forces which are now going against the Isle of Man; and however you might do for the present, in time it would

* Whitelock says that Lord Derby escaped from the Castle, but was again taken on the Roo Dee.

be grievous and troublesome to resist, especially those that at this hour command these nations. Wherefore my advice, notwithstanding my great affection to that place, is, that you would make conditions for yourself, children, servants, and people there, and such as came over with me, to the end you may go to some place of rest where you may not be concerned in war; and taking thought of your poor children, you may in some sort provide for them; then prepare yourself to come to your friends above, in that blessed place where bliss is, and no mingling of opinion.

"I conjure you, my dearest heart, by all those graces which God hath given you, that you exercise your patience in this great and strange trial. If harm come to you, then I am dead indeed, and, until then, I shall live in you, who are truly the best part of myself. When there is no such thing as I in being, then look upon yourself and my poor children; then take comfort, and God will bless you.

"I acknowledge the great goodness of God to have given me such a wife as you: so great an honour to my family; so excellent a companion to me; so pious, so much of all that can be said of good, I must confess it impossible to say enough thereof. I ask God pardon, with all my soul, that I have not been enough thankful for so great a benefit; and when I have done anything at any time that might justly offend you, with joined hands I also ask your pardon.

"I have no more to say to you, at this time, than my prayers for the Almighty's blessing to you, my dear Mall, and Ned, and Billy. Amen, sweet Jesus!"

The Earl's parting letter to his children is as follows:—

"Chester, October 13, 1651.

"Dear Mall, my Ned, and Billy,—I remember well how sad you were to part with me; but now, I fear, your sorrow will be greatly increased, to be informed that you can never see me more in this world; but I charge you all to strive against too great a sorrow: you are all of you of that temper that it would do you much harm; and my desires and prayers to God are, that you may have a happy life; let it be as holy a life as you can, and as little sinful as you can avoid or prevent.

"I can well now give you that counsel, having in myself at this time so great a sense of the vanities of my life, which fill my soul with sorrow; yet, I rejoice to remember, that when I have blessed God with pious devotion it has been most delightful to my soul, and must be my eternal happiness.

"Love the archdeacon,* he will give you good precepts. Obey your mother with cheerfulness and grieve her not, for she is your example, your nurse, your counsellor, your all—under God; there never was, nor never can be a more deserving person.

"I am called away, and this is the last I shall write to you. The Lord my God bless you, and guard you from all evil! So prays your father at this time, whose sorrow is inexorable to part with Mall, Neddy, and Billy. Remember!

"DERBY."

On arriving in London, it appears Lord Strange met with little to encourage his expectations of success, so that after presenting the petition and plea of the Earl to Mr. Speaker Lenthall, and extracting from him a promise that they should be read by him before Parliament, Lord Strange determined to return to his father, and leave Brideoake† to negotiate with Lenthall and others as best he could on behalf of the unfortunate Earl. Having made these arrangements, Lord Strange returned with "incredible speed"‡ to Chester, where he appears to have arrived some time in the forenoon of Monday; when he had an interview with the Earl, and acquainted him with the results of the journey, and of the "cruel and bloody resolution of his professed and implacable enemies." The Earl, we are told by Seacombe, embraced his son, Lord Strange, with all the tenderness of natural love and affection, saying, "I thank you for your duty, diligence, and endeavours to save my life; but since it cannot be obtained, I must sub-

* Archdeacon Rutter.

† Ralph Brideoake, D.D., was born at Chetham Hill, near Manchester, and was educated at the school there, and afterwards went to Brazenose College, Oxford. He was afterwards appointed high master of Manchester School, and was a chaplain with the garrison during the first siege at Lathom. After the martyrdom of the Earl of Derby, we are informed that he turned Presbyterian, and preached and prayed with all the antics of the worst followers of the day of that faith. After the Restoration, by bribing King Charles II.'s mistresses, through the interest of the Duchess of Portsmouth, the doctor was appointed Bishop of Chichester.—Evelyn, in his Diary, speaks of Brideoake with little respect; and in *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, a memoir of his eventful but not very creditable career will be found.

‡ Seacombe says that Lord Strange rode post to London in *one day and night*, and got the Earl's petition read in the junto (parliament) by Mr. Lenthall, and with "incredible speed" returned to his father before the hour of execution. The petition was not read in the House before late in the evening of the 14th, and yet Seacombe speaks of Lord Strange being present with the Earl at Chester during the morning of Monday, the 13th October. The probability seems to be as stated above,—that Lord Strange left Chester for London on Saturday evening, and again, after seeing Lenthall, left London on Sunday evening, arriving in Chester sometime during the forenoon of Monday, which might be accomplished by the relays of horses already noticed; and this view of the movements of Lord Strange is most in consonance with the narrative of Baggerley, also quoted by Seacombe, notwithstanding the irreconcilableness of the two conflicting statements. Travelling appears to have been conducted in these critical times with extraordinary speed by relays of horses, as, for instance, when Charles I., was at York despatches were frequently forwarded to him from Hyde in London, late on Saturday night, and the answers were returned in town by ten o'clock on Monday morning. These journeys of nearly four hundred miles, performed in little more than thirty-four hours, were accomplished by Royalist gentlemen, who voluntarily proffered their services.

mit, and, kneeling down, said, *Domine non mea voluntas sed tua.*"

To what extent Brideoake exerted himself on behalf of the Earl of Derby is not known; but this is certain that he so conducted himself that he became a favourite with Lenthall, and, subsequently, his chaplain.

In the journals of the House of Commons, the fact of the reading of the letter and petition, conveyed by Lord Strange to Mr. Speaker Lenthall, is merely noted, being the last act of the House on the 14th October, the eve of the Earl of Derby's execution, as the following "Extract from the Journals of the House of Commons, Oct. 14, 1651, containing all the proceedings of that day," clearly shows:—

"Prayers.

"The House according to former order, was this day resolved into a Grand Committee, upon the Bill for setting a certain Time for sitting of this Parliament and for calling a new Parliament.

"Mr. Speaker left the chair, Mr. Ellys took the chair, Mr. Speaker resumed the chair.

"Mr. Speaker by way of report, acquaints the House with a letter, which he had received from the Earl of Derby, and the question being put, That the said letter be now read, the House was divided, the Yeas went forth.

Sir Wm. Brereton	{ Tellers for the Yeas }	22
Mr. Ellys	{ With the Yeas }	
Mr. Bond	{ Tellers for the Noes }	16
Maj. Gen. Harrison	{ With the Noes }	

"So it passed with the affirmative.

"A letter from the Earl of Derby of the 11th day of October, 1651, with a Petition therein enclosed, instituted 'The Humble Petition of James Earl of Derby,' was this day read."

Beyond the foregoing nothing occurs on the journals of the House upon the subject, and this is accounted for by the fact that Cromwell and Bradshaw had previously so ordered the matter that, when they observed that a majority of the members present were inclined to allow the petition, just as the Speaker was about to put the question, these two Parliamentary worthies basely quitted the House with eight or nine of their confederates, and, with a cold-blooded calculation and indifference unknown before in the history of the proceedings of the House, reduced the number remaining in the House under forty, so that no question could be put, and thus, as

Whitelock observes, they granted the Earl no relief. In the "Marple Papers," Thomas Elcocke swears that a pardon arrived in time to save, but was kept back by Colonel Duckinfield. No faith, however, is to be placed in the oath of Elcocke, for he has declared that the Earl offered to turn spy, and obtain information for Cromwell of the exiles in France, on condition that his life might be spared. It is scarcely necessary to observe that the testimony of such a depraved hireling of the Bradshaw clique is entirely unworthy of credit. Such a contemptible and worthless creature as Elcocke is unable to dupe the world, for never having had the faintest glimpse of the high and generous impulses by which noble and exalted minds are endowed and actuated, he maliciously conjures up the being he would malign and vilify from his own base, sordid, and selfish motives. That the Earl of Derby was not so bereft of exalted human sensibility as to crave for death, those who know the dearest family ties which bound him to earth will readily believe; but that the nobleman, whose righteous soul had been devoted to true honour and disinterested loyalty—whose courage had been approved and endorsed in almost numberless battles and the most trying difficulties—and whose whole life had been passed in an incessant and worthy determination to emulate the most glorious parts of the lives of his noble ancestors;—that such a man, such a noble example of devoted patriotism and virtue, in one moment, by an inconsistent and blighting piece of treachery, should seek to drag out a few years of an existence he must only have lived to loath, requires the baseness of an Elcocke to believe as well as to conceive.

The hours the Earl of Derby had now to pass on earth were but few, of which fact he himself appears to have been fully aware and prepared for. During the forenoon of Monday (October 13), he applied that Captain Humphrey Baggerley,* who was a prisoner at Chester, might be allowed to attend him during the few hours he had to live, which request was

* Ormerod, in his *Tracts relating to Military Proceedings*, observes that Collins had access to the manuscript of this memoir when in possession of James, tenth Earl of Derby, who died in 1736, and Seacombe also had it or a copy of it; and yet the latter calls its author, the chaplain, the Reverend Humphrey Baggerley. Captain Humphrey Baggerley surrendered at Appleby, along with Colonel Sir T. Tyldesley; he was employed in directing the Earl of Derby's embarkation in the Isle of Man, August 12th, 1651, and in 1651 was imprisoned in London for assisting in what was called "Gerard's conspiracy." "John Seacombe, of Liverpool, gent.," speaks of himself as having had "the honour to serve" William, ninth Earl of Derby, "several years as household steward," and it is clear that he had Baggerley's papers, which he calls "my collection, Baggerley," as well as the papers of Bishop Rutter, as he quotes "Bp. Rutter, in his MS., now by me." Much is due to Seacombe for preserving what he has given; and he disarms criticism, by describing his education as narrow and scanty, "having made me so much scholar as to know my want of learning, yet I have learned what duty and gratitude mean."

granted ; and it is to that gentleman's pen that we are indebted for that minute and touching narrative of the incidents connected with the final hours of the Earl's life, the character of which, as Lodge observes, "displays one of the purest examples extant of the courage of a soldier, the patience of a philosopher, and the piety of a Christian." The Earl received an intimation from Colonel Duckinfield, the governor of the castle, that he was to prepare himself for his departure for Bolton on the following day (Tuesday), the particulars of which, as well as other affecting points, are given in Captain Baggerley's narrative, which is here subjoined :—

"On Monday, the 13th of October, 1651, my lord procured me liberty to wait upon him, having then been close prisoner for ten days. He told me the night before, Mr. Slater, Colonel Duckinfield's chaplain, had been with him from the governor, to persuade his Lordship that they were confident his life was in no danger. His Lordship told me he patiently heard his discourse, but did not believe him ; for, said he, I was resolved not to be deceived with the vain hopes of this fading world.

"After we had walked a quarter of an hour, and discoursed his commands to me, in order to my journey to the Isle of Man, touching his consent to my Lady, to deliver it up, upon those articles his Lordship had signed for that purpose, with his affectionate protestations of his honour and respect to my Lady, both for her high birth and goodness as a wife, and with much tenderness to his children there, especially my Lady Mary ; and was going on, when on a sudden came into the room one Lieutenant Smith, a rude fellow, with his hat on, who told my Lord, he came from Colonel Duckinfield, the governor, to tell him he must make ready for his journey to Bolton. He replied, 'When would you have me to go !' 'To-morrow morning, by six o'clock,' said Smith. 'Well,' said my Lord, I thank God I am readier to die than for my journey. However, commend me to the governor, and tell him by that time I will be ready for both.'

"Then that insolent rebel Smith said, 'Does your Lordship know any friend or servant that would do that thing that your Lordship knows of ? It would do well if you had a friend.' My Lord replied, 'What do you mean ; would you have me find one to cut off my own head ?' Smith said, 'My Lord, if you could get a friend.' My lord answered, 'Nay, sir, if those men that will have my head will not find one to cut it off, let it stand where it is ; I thank my God my life hath not been so bad that I should be instrumental to

deprive myself of it ; though He hath been so merciful to me as to be well resolved against the worse terrors death can put upon me ; and for me and my servants, our ways have been to prosecute a war by honourable and just means, and not those barbarous ways of blood, which to you is a trade.'

"Then Smith went out and called me to him, and repeated his discourse and desires to me. I only told him, that my Lord had given him a final answer on that head.

"Upon my coming in again, my Lord called for pen and ink, and wrote his last letter to my Lady, also to my Lady Mary and his sons, in the Isle of Man.

"In the meantime, Mr. Paul Moreau, a servant to his Lordship, went and brought all the rings he could get, and my Lord wrapped them up in several papers, and writ within them, and desired me to superscribe them to his children, friends, and servants.

"The rest of that day (being Monday), he spent with my Lord Strange, Lady Katherine, and Lady Amelia ; at night, about six o'clock, I came to him again, when the Ladies were gone away ; and as we were walking, and my Lord telling me that he would receive the Sacrament the next morning, and on Wednesday morning both, in came the aforesaid Smith, and said, 'My Lord, the governor desires you would be ready to go in the morning about seven o'clock.' My Lord replied, 'Lieutenant, pray tell the governor, I shall not have occasion to go so early ; by nine o'clock will serve my turn, and by that time I will be ready. If he has earlier occasion, he may take his own hour.'

"That night I stayed supper with my Lord, who was exceedingly cheerful, and well composed ; and drank to Sir Timothy Featherstone (who suffered at Chester a week after in the same cause), and said, 'Sir, be of good comfort ; I go willingly before you. God hath so strengthened me, that you shall hear, by His assistance, that I shall so submit, both as a Christian and a soldier, as to be both a comfort and an example to you.'

"Then he often remembered my Lady, Lady Mary, and the little honourable masters, and drank to me, and once to all his servants, especially to Andrew Broome ; and said, he hoped now that they who loved him would never forsake his wife and children, and he doubted not but God would be a master to them, and provide for them after his death.

"In the morning his Lordship delivered me the letters for the island, and said, 'Baggerley, deliver these with my most

tender affection to my wife and sweet children, who shall continue with my prayers for them to the last minute of my life. I have instructed you as to all things for your journey. But as to that sad part of it with respect to them I can say nothing, but must remain in silence, for your own looks will best tell the message. The great God of heaven direct you, and prosper and comfort them in this their day of deep affliction and distress.'

"His Lordship then took leave of Sir Timothy Featherstone, much in the same manner as the night before. Mr. Crossen and three other gentlemen who were condemned came out of the dungeon (at my Lord's request to the Marshal), and kissed his hand, and wept at taking leave. My Lord said, 'Gentlemen, God bless and keep you. I hope now my blood will satisfy for all that were with me; and now you will in a short time be at liberty. But if the cruelty of these men will not end there, be of good comfort, God will strengthen you to endure to the last, as He hath done me; for you shall hear I die like a Christian, a man, a soldier, and an obedient subject to the most just and virtuous of princes.'

"After we were out of town about half a mile, my Lord, meeting his two daughters, Ladies Katherine and Amelia, alighted from his horse, and with an humble behaviour and noble carriage kneeled down by the boot of the coach, and prayed for them; then rising up, took his leave, and so parted. This was the deepest scene of sorrow my eyes ever beheld; so much grief, and so much concern and tender affection on both sides, I never was witness of before.

"That night, Tuesday, the 14th of October, 1651, we came to Leigh, near Winwick; and in our way thither, his Lordship called me to him, and bid me when I arrived at the Isle of Man, to commend him to the Archdeacon there, and tell him he well remembered the several discourses that passed between them concerning death, and the manner of it; that he had often said the thoughts of death could not trouble him in fight, or with a sword in his hand; but that he feared it would somewhat startle him tamely to submit to a blow upon the scaffold. 'But,' said he, 'tell the archdeacon from me, that I do find in myself an absolute change as to that opinion; and I bless my God for it, who hath put these comforts and courage into my soul. I can, with resignation to His Almighty will, as willingly lay down my head upon a block as ever I did upon a pillow!'

"My Lord, at supper, made a competent meal, saying, he

would imitate his Saviour: a supper should be his last act in this world, as it was his Saviour's own supper before he came to the cross, which he said he should do to-morrow. That night he spent upon his bed, from betwixt ten and eleven until six next morning. As he laid down upon his right side with his hand under his face, he said, 'Methinks I lie like a monument in a church; and to morrow I shall really be so.' As soon as he rose, and after prayer, he shirted himself, and said, 'This shall be my winding sheet.' He then said to Mr. Paul, 'See that it be not taken from me; for I will be buried in it.'

"Then he called on my Lord Strange, and said, 'Put on my order* once this day, and I will send it to you again by Baggerley; and pray return it to my gracious sovereign, when you shall be so happy as to see him, and say I sent it with all humility and gratitude, as I received it, spotless and free from any stain, according to the honourable example of my loyal ancestors.'

"Then he went to prayer; and my Lord commanded Mr. Greenhalgh to read the Decalogue, and at the end of every commandment made his confession, and received absolution and the Sacrament; after which he called for pen and ink, and wrote his last speech, and a note to Sir E. S.† When we were ready to go he drank a cup of beer to my Lady, Lady Mary, and little masters, and Mr. Archdeacon, and all his friends in the Island, and charged me to remember him to them all. He then would have walked into the church to have seen Sir T. T.'s grave,‡ but was not permitted; nor even to ride that day upon his own horse, but set him upon a little galloway, fearing, as they said, the people would rescue him.

"As we were going about the middle way to Bolton, the wind came easterly, which my Lord observing, called me, and said 'Baggerley, there is a great difference betwixt you and me now, for my thoughts are fixed, and I know where I shall rest to-night, but you don't; for every little alteration of wind or weather moves you of this world from one point to another. You must leave me, and go to my wife and children in the Isle of Man. But, in the meantime, do not leave me, if possible, but stay and see me buried as I told you, and acquaint my dear wife and family with our parting."

* Order of the Garter.

† Sir Edward Stanley, who was taken prisoner in the fight near Ormskirk, on the 20th August, 1644.

‡ The grave here alluded to was that of his late faithful friend and fellow-soldier, Colonel Sir Thomas Tyldesley.

Having remained all night at Leigh, the following morning, being Wednesday, October 15th, the day appointed for the execution, the Earl was conveyed to Bolton on a small gallo-way, under an escort or guard of sixty foot and eighty horse. The guard arrived at Bolton with their noble victim between twelve and one o'clock, where, somewhat contrary to the fond expectations of the Earl's enemies, the sympathy of the public was strongly manifested in his favour, as indeed it had been throughout the solemn journey, "the people everywhere praying and weeping as he went even from the Castle of Chester his prison, to his scaffold at Bolton."

With the diabolical view of casting further indignity upon the person of the Earl, it had been determined that the scaffold upon which he was doomed to suffer execution should be formed, for the most part, of timber conveyed from the ruins of Lathom House, which resolution was actually carried into effect. The dismal structure was erected in front of the Man and Scythe Inn, in Churchgate, near the Market Cross.

On arriving at the site of the scaffold, it was found that the erection was not completed, "because the people of the town refused to strike a nail or give any assistance to it; many of them saying that since the war began they had suffered many great losses, but never so great as this. This was the greatest that ever befel them, that the Earl of Derby, their lord and patriot, should lose his life there, and in that barbarous manner." Thus finding the arrangements for the sad event in a confused state of unpreparedness, the Earl was allowed to pass the time till three o'clock in the afternoon with his son, Lord Strange, and some of his friends and servants in a chamber of the Man and Scythe Inn.* This time was spent by the Earl in prayer, and in relating to his friends and attendants "how he had prepared for his death, and how the Lord had strengthened him against the terrors of it." He then desired them to pray with him again, and after giving some affectionate counsel and instructions to Lord Strange, he expressed his desire to be left alone, when he went down on his knees, and continued in private prayer for some time. He then called Lord Strange and his friends to him again into the chamber, and entered into conversation with them, assuring them, with a sublime and touching Christian cheerfulness,

* It appears that this house had then been erected twelve years, and was then kept by James Cockerill, who leased a large quantity of land in Bolton. He lived to be 106 years old, and was buried on the south side of the Old Parish Church, on the 7th March, 1700.
—See *Briscoe's Hand-book of Bolton*.

“how contented he was to part with this world, and that the fear of death was no trouble to him since his imprisonment, though he had had two or three soldiers with naked swords night and day in his chamber.” To the last, the Earl evinced “great trouble and concern for his dear wife and children, and what might become of them after his death ;” but “he was satisfied that God would be a father and husband to them, into whose hands and Almighty protection he committed them ;” and thus the noble Earl, in his last moments, was supported and comforted by the inward possession of that Christian assurance which is the result of faithful resignation to the will of God, whose Holy Spirit creates and nourishes that patient and abiding looking-for of a glorious immortality in heaven, where, ransomed by the blood of Jesus, kindred spirits meet to be no more separated.

The Earl having taken a last and affectionate farewell of Lord Strange, now called for an officer, whom he apprized that he was ready. On proceeding from the inn to the scene of the tragedy, the people were found praying and weeping on every side, which perceiving, the Earl, with a courteous humility, observed—“Good people, I thank you all, I beseech you pray for me to the last. The God of heaven bless you ; the Son of God bless you ; and God the Holy Ghost fill you with all comfort !” On reaching the scaffold, which was now ready for him to ascend, the Earl laid his hands upon the ladder, saying, “I am thus requited for my love.” He then kissed the ladder, saying, “I am not afraid to go up here, though to my death. I do submit myself to the mercy of God.” Having ascended the ladder, he walked a while upon the scaffold, and then seated himself upon a chair at the east end of it. He then rose and addressed himself to the spectators, who were in number about one hundred, exclusive of the military, the latter of whom were for the most part cavalry, and occupied a position round the scaffold as a guard with drawn swords.

The Earl’s LAST ADDRESS appears as a tract in the *King’s Collection*, and is said to have been taken down in short-hand by two clerks, one of whom was James Roscow, of Bolton, who is supposed to have been of moderate Presbyterian principles, and, consequently, favourable to the Royalists at this particular time. In this version of the Earl’s speech, the reader will at once recognize the simple, yet touching pathos which invariably marks the Earl’s other compositions, as well as that keen and sensitive feeling which he manifested in his

petition against Bolton being fixed as the place for his execution; but where now, happily, finding the occasion for his fears not realised, amidst the unexpected sympathy of his hearers, he is again, in his last moments, encouraged to rebut the malicious imputation of his enemies that he was "a man of blood," and to exclaim in the triumph of innocence, even in the dreaded town of Bolton—"God be thanked! there is no man that revileth me!"—The Earl's last speech and some of the incidents that occurred during its delivery are thus given in Roscow's report:—

"Now that it pleaseth God to take away my life, I am glad to see that in this town, where some were made believe I was a Man of Blood, I was slandered to be the death of many. It was my desire the last time I came into this Country to come hither as to a people that ought to serve the King, as I conceive upon good grounds. It was said that I was accustomed to be a Man of Blood, but it doth not lie upon my Conscience, for I was wrongfully belyed. I thank God I desire peace; I was born in Honour, and I hope I shall dye in Honour: I had a fair Estate, and did not need to mend it; I had good friends, and was respected, and did respect; they were ready to do for me, and I was ready to do for them; I have done nothing but, as my ancestors, to do you good; it was the King that called me in, and I thought it my duty to wait upon his Highness to do him service.' Then there arose a great tumult among the people; after which he said (looking all round him), 'I thought to have said more, but I have said. I cannot say much more to you of my good will to this town of Bolton, and I can say no more, but the Lord bless you. I forgive you all, and desire to be forgiven of you all, for I put my trust in Jesus Christ.' And looking about him he said, 'I did never deserve this hard measure from above. Honest friends (you that are Souldiers), my life is taken away after Quarter given, by a Council of War, which was never done before.' And walking up and down the scaffold, he said, 'The Lord bless you all; the Son of God bless you all of this town of Bolton, Manchester, and especially Lancashire, and God send that you may have a King again, and Laws. I die like a Christian, a Souldier, and Christ's Souldier.' And sitting down in his chair, he said to a Souldier that had been his keeper, 'They are not ready,' (meaning the block was not ready), and bade him commend him to all his friends in Chester, 'and tell them I die like a Souldier;' and causing the Coffin to be opened, he said, 'I hope when I am imprison-

ed in this, the Watchmen will not lie by me with their swords.' And walking up and down the Scaffold, he looked about him and said, 'There is no man that revileth me, God be thanked !' And looking upon them that were on the Scaffold, he said, 'What do you stay for ? It is hard that I cannot get a block to have my head cut off.' He looking upon the Executioner said, 'Thy Coat is too burly that thou canst not hit right, the Lord help thee and forgive thee.' Then bowing to Mr. Henry Bridgman,* he said, 'They have brought me hither too soon, the block is not ready for me, Mr. Bridgman ; tell your brother I take it as a great mercy of God that I am brought hither, for I might have dyed in the midst of a Battel, and have not dyed so well, for now I have time to make my peace with God.' And turning him to James Roscow (one of the two clerks that writ his Speech in short-hand), he said, 'Do you write what I say ? It may be I say not well, but my meaning is good.' And looking upon the block, he said to one of his men, 'Lay down your neck upon the block, and see how it will fit,' but he refused : and a Trumpeter that was upon the Scaffold, layd down his neck to try how it would fit ; after that he layd down his own neck upon the block, and rose up again, and caused the block to be turned, and laying his neck upon it again, said, 'Do not strike yet.' And when he rose up, he went about the Scaffold and said, 'I desire your Prayers, pray for me, the Lord blesse you all ! the Lord blesse this poor Nation !' Then he gave his handkerchiefs out of his two pockets to his servants. Then he kneeled down and prayed privately, and then laid down his neck upon the block, and said to the Executioner, 'When I lift up my hand, then give the blow ;' and just when he gave the sign, one of his servants said, 'Good, my lord, let me speak one word before,' and looking up, he said, 'I have given you a sign, but you have ill misssd it.' And being upon his knees, he said, 'Honcst friends, I thank God I fear not death ; I rejoyce to serve God, my King, and Country ; I am sorry to leave some of my Christian Friends, but I hope the Lord will keep them, and bless them : the Lord of Heaven bless my Wife and poor Children, the Lord bless his People and my good King.' And laying his head upon the block, he said, 'Let the whole Earth be filled with His Glory !' and giving

* The Rev. Henry Bridgman was rector of Wigan, and one of the Earl's chaplains, and continued to the last, we are told, such dutiful and affectionate attendance as circumstances allowed to him, and was recognized by the Earl, being seated on horseback, near the scaffold, among the troopers. The rev. gentleman afterwards became Dean of Chester, and Bishop of Man. He was the younger son of Dr. John Bridgman, bishop of Chester, and manorial lord of Great Lever, Lancashire.

the last sign by holding up his hand, his head was severed from his body with one blow.”*

* There are at least three other versions of the last address of the Earl. The one which appears in Sir Walter Scott's edition of Somers's Tracts, is condemned as spurious, being altogether unlike that of any known composition of the Earl's. The one given in the *Black Tribunal*, though it approaches in some points to the authorised account, is condemned as being sedulously tortured into a more oratorical form, inconsistent with the noble sufferer's characteristic simplicity. The third, which is found in Collins from Baggerley's MS. and in Seacombe, is said to agree with his Lordship's paper (meaning the speech composed at Leigh, on the eve of the Earl's execution.) The genuineness of this version is generally admitted, though it seems to have been retouched and amplified by Mr. Greenhalgh and Baggerley. This version of the speech we here subjoin as supplementary to the speech given above :—“I am come and am content to die in this town, where I endeavoured to come the last time I was in Lancashire, as a place where I promised myself to be welcome; in regard to which the people have reason to be satisfied of my love and affection for them; and that they now understand sufficiently that I am not a man of blood, as some maliciously and falsely slandered me with, being acquitted of that by many gentlemen of great worth, who were in the fight in this town; and I am confident there are still some in this place, who can witness my mercy and care in saving the lives of many men that day. As for my crime, as some call it, to come into this country with the King, I hope it deserves a better name; for I did it in obedience to his Majesty's commands, whom I hold myself obliged to obey, according to the protestation I took in Parliament in his father's time. I confess I love monarchy, and I love my master, Charles II., of that name, whom I proclaimed in this country to be King. The Lord bless and preserve him. I do believe and assure you, that he is a virtuous, valiant, and discreet prince; and I wish so much happiness to the good people of this nation after my death, that he may enjoy his right, and then I am well assured, that they cannot want theirs under him. I confess here in the presence of God, I always fought for peace, and I had no other reason, for I wanted neither estate nor honour, neither did I seek to enlarge either at the expense of others' lives and fortunes, or the invasion of the King's rights and prerogatives. My predecessors were, for their duty, loyalty, and good services, raised to a high condition of honour and fortune, as is well known in this country; and it is as well known that I am condemned to die by his Majesty's enemies, by new and unknown laws. The Lord send us our King again, and the Lord send us our Religion again; as for that which is practised now, it hath no name; and I think there is more talk of religion, than any real practice or good effects thereof. Truly for me I die for God, the King, and the Laws, which makes me not ashamed of my life, nor afraid at my death.” At these words, a trooper is said to have called out, “We have no King, and will have no Lords;” which gave rise to a mutiny among the soldiers, and his Lordship was interrupted, at which some of the officers were troubled, and the friends of his Lordship much grieved. Being again allowed to proceed with his address, and seeing the troops scattered in the streets, “cutting and slashing the people with their swords, the Earl observed, “Gentlemen, what is the matter, where is the guilt? I fly not, and here is none to pursue you.” This account then goes on to say that his Lordship, perceiving he might not speak, he turned himself to his servant, and gave him his papers, and commanded him to let the world know what he had to say, had he not been interrupted and hindered, the remainder of the address, being as follows, “as it was written in his Lordship's papers under his own hand :”—“My sentence, upon which I am brought hither, was by a council of war, which council I had reason to expect would have justified my plea of quarter for life; that being an ancient and honourable plea amongst soldiers, and not violated till this time. I am made the first precedent in this case, and I earnestly wish that no others suffer in the like manner. Now I must die, and I thank my God I am ready to die, with a good and quiet conscience, without malice to any, upon any grounds whatsoever; though others would not shew mercy unto me upon just and fair means; but I forgive them, following the example of my Saviour, who prayed for his enemies, and so do I pray for mine. As for my faith and religion, I profess and believe in one only God, and in Jesus Christ His only Son, who died for me and all mankind, and from whom I look for my Salvation; that is, in and through His only merits and sufferings; and I die a dutiful son of the Church of England, as it was established in my late master's reign, and as it is yet professed in the Isle of Man, which is no small comfort to me. I thank my God for the quiet of my conscience at this time, and for the assurance of those joys which he hath promised, and are prepared for all those that love, adore, and fear Him. The God of Heaven bless you all, and send you peace and prosperity; that God, who is truth itself, bless you with peace and truth. Amen.” After the uproar was over, his Lordship, walking the scaffold, called for the executioner to come to him, and asked to see the axe, saying, “Come friend, give it into my hands, I'll neither hurt thee nor it; it cannot hurt me, for I am not afraid of it;” and kissing it, gave it to him again. Then he asked to see the block, which was not quite ready, and turning up his eyes said, “How long, good Lord, how long?” Then putting his hand into his pocket, he gave the headman two pieces of gold, saying, “This is all I have, take it, and do thy work well; and when I am upon the block, and lifting up my hands, then do your business; but I fear your great coat will hinder or trouble you, pray put it off.” Some standing by, bid him ask his Lordship's forgiveness, but, being either too sullen, or too slow, his Lordship forgave him before he asked it; and passing by the other side where his coffin stood,

Thus was brought to a close the earthly career of James, seventh Earl of Derby, amidst the sighs, sobs, and prayers of the people of the town; and never did man put off mortality and leave his "earthly tabernacle" with a better courage, nor look upon his bloody and malicious enemies with more Christian charity and pity. The body was now placed in the coffin which had been prepared for its reception, and the following couplet was thrown in by some unknown hand:—

Wit, bounty, courage, all three here in one lie dead;
A Stanley's hand, Vere's heart, and Cecil's head.

The same night Lord Strange caused the remains of the Earl to be conveyed to Wigan; and on the following day they were removed to Ormskirk, and deposited in the Derby vault, in which reposed the remains of his illustrious ancestors.

In speaking of the character of Lord Derby, Clarendon observes that he "was a man of unquestionable loyalty, of great honour, and clear courage." As a soldier the Earl was brave almost to rashness, and was well qualified to act as a leader in any bold exercise that required promptitude and decision. He enjoyed the confidence of his followers, and, as has been observed, posterity will still wonder how he could, for a single day, sustain the cause of Lancashire, when the King had taken the flower of his tenantry, and almost all his ammunition, and sent him thus unprovided to oppose the overwhelming forces of the King's enemies in the county. As a politician, the firm attachment of his friends in Lancashire, including many of the nobles of the county, and the constant fidelity of the inhabitants of the Isle of Man, over whom he exercised the functions of a sovereign, afford convincing proof of his talents, and of an intimate knowledge of the human heart.* The envy of Charles I.'s courtiers excluded

and spying one of his chaplains on horseback amongst the troopers, said, "Sir, remember me to your brother and friend; you see I am ready, but the block is not; but when I am got into my chamber, which I shall not be long out of (pointing to the coffin), I shall then be at rest, and no longer troubled with such a guard and noise as I have been;" and, turning himself round again, he saw the block, and asked if all was ready; then going to the place where he began his speech, he said, "Good people, I thank you for your prayers and tears; I have heard the one and seen the other. Then bowing, he turned towards the block, and then looking towards the church, he caused the block to be turned and laid that way, saying—"I will look towards Thy sanctuary whilst I am here, and I hope to live in Thy heavenly sanctuary for ever hereafter." Then taking his doublet off, asked how he must lie, saying—"I never saw any one's head cut off, but I will try how it fits;" so laying him down, and stretching himself upon the block, he rose again, and caused it to be moved a little, and looking at the executioner, said—"Be sure you remember what I told you, when I lift up my hands then do your work;" then looking on his friends about him, said, bowing—"The Lord be with you all, pray for me;" and, kneeling upon his knees, made a short and private prayer, ending with the Lord's Prayer, and bowing himself again, said—"The Lord bless my wife and children, and the Lord bless us all;" and laying his neck upon the block, and his arms stretched out, he said these words aloud:—"Blessed be God's holy name for ever and ever.—Amen. Let the whole earth be filled with his glory."

The axe by which the head of the Earl was severed from his body has a convex blade, very wide and heavy, with a short haft, and was, a few years ago, in the possession of the descendants of the executioner, at Turton.—See note in *Briscoe's Hand-book of Bolton*.

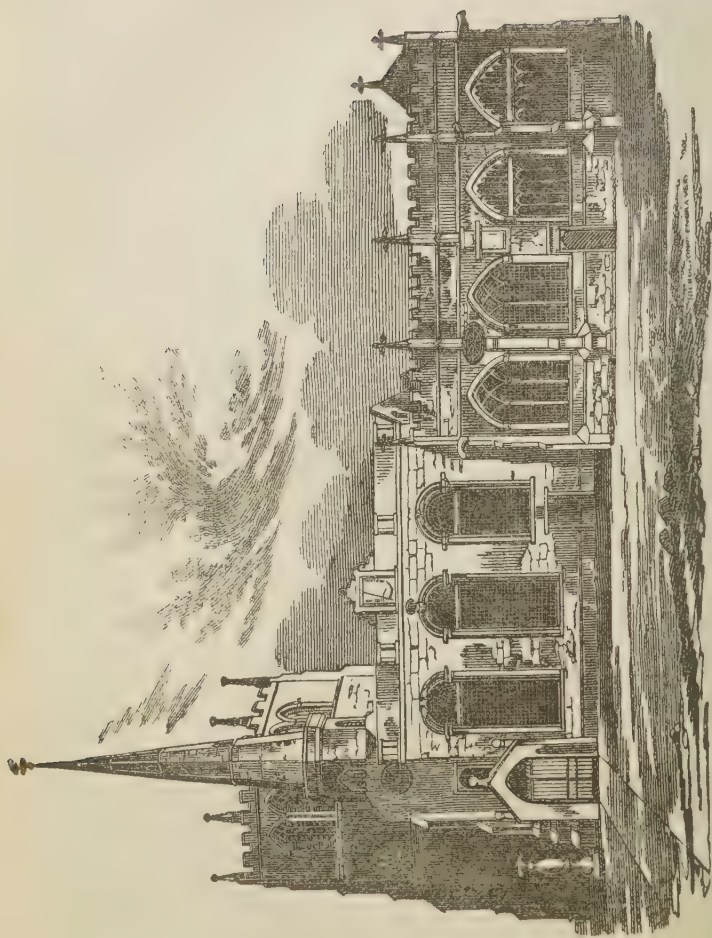
* See Baines's Lancashire.

him from the councils of that unfortunate monarch, whose cool and suspicious disposition was not in accordance with that of the "frank, bold, and manly peer;" and the attachment of the Earl of Derby to Charles must consequently have originated in an honourable and conscientious adherence to his oath of allegiance, which was the prime motive for his endurance of neglect and misrepresentation, and for continuing his exertions in the Royalist cause at the hazard of confiscation and an ignominious and cruel death, but which has cast a halo over the cause for which he endured, fought, and suffered so much.

Notwithstanding the troublous times in which it was the lot of the Earl of Derby to move, and take so prominent a part and suffer so much, he stands boldly out as a consistent and loyal patriot and a Christian—his patriotism being sanctified by his religious convictions, and the genuineness of his religious convictions proved by the unswerving loyalty of his trying and spotless career. Lord Derby's religion was a practical religion, and contrasted very favourably with that conventicle "piety," or self-betraying hypocrisy, which marked too plainly the career of many of his enemies connected with the Parliament. His religion was not an assumed religion, but an inward and lively religion, which guided his actions and supported him under his numerous and overwhelming trials. He was a man of prayer, and his lordship's "Morning Prayer" shows how deeply he was impressed with the conviction of his own littleness in the sight of God, and of the necessity of Divine aid to support him. He was not a loud professor of Christianity, but he lived the life of the Christian, and as his life had been, such was his death. One of his lordship's morning private prayers has been preserved, and is as follows:—

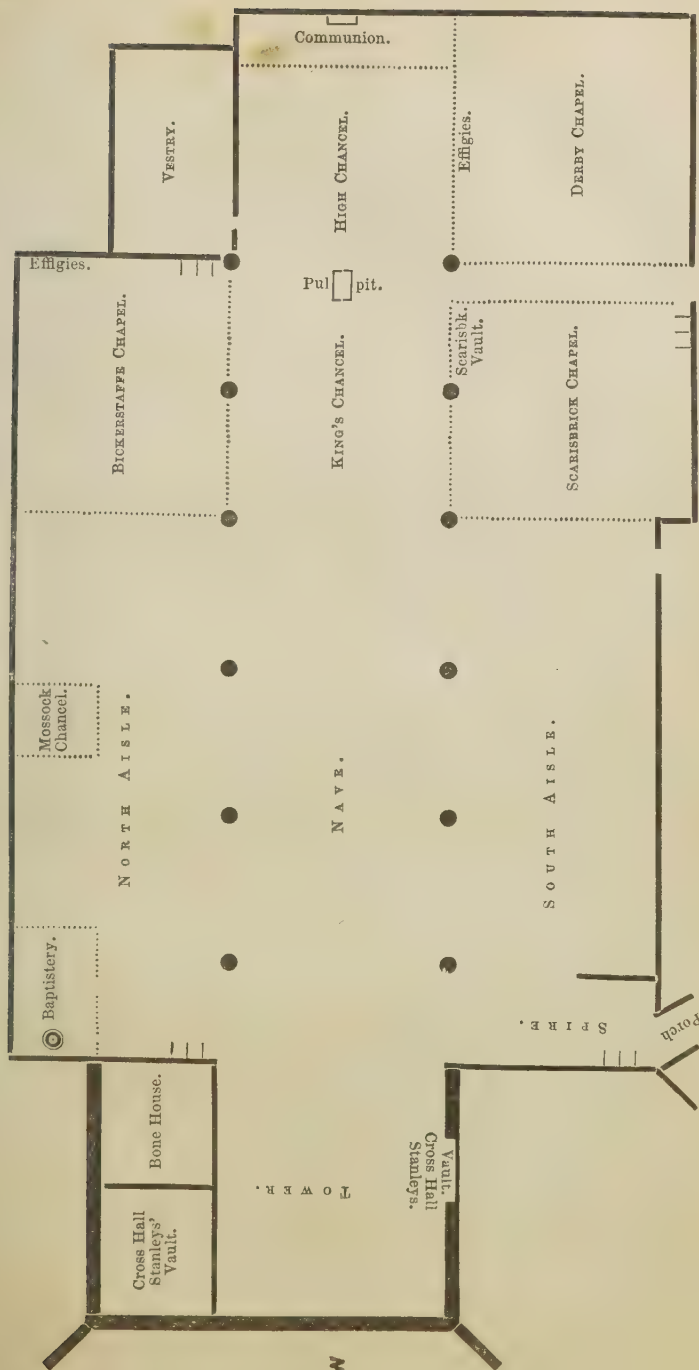
O Almighty Lord God! Thou that hearest prayer, assist me now in my devotion. By the help of Thy blessed Spirit, make me to have so right a sense of my sins, that I may be humbled before Thee, and of Thy mercy that I may be raised and comforted by Thee. O Lord, make me tremble to consider Thee a most mighty and terrible God, and make me again rejoice to know Thee a most loving and merciful Father. Make me zealous of Thy glory, and thankful for Thy bounties; make me know my wants and the frailties of my nature, and be earnest in my prayer that Thou wilt forgive all my misdeeds; make me in my address to Thee to have a present mind, and no cares, wandering thoughts, or desires elsewhere, or separate from Thee; make me so to pray that I may obtain of Thee mercy, and the relief of all my necessities; for the sake of Thy blessed Son and my Redeemer, the holy Jesus. Amen.

Another valuable and pleasing feature in the character of the Earl of Derby is the true philosophic knowledge he possessed of the human heart and mind, and of the true qualifications for a ruler, as evidenced in the twenty-seven "aphorisms" drawn up by his lordship for the guidance of his son, Lord Strange,



ORMSKIRK CHURCH.

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which embrace sound practical instruction, and display a high mental training and an intimate acquaintance with the bias of the human heart, as well as with the checks and influences indispensable to the right cultivation of the heart and mind for the right discharge of their personal and social and public duties. These choice instructions to Lord Strange are :—

1, Of all things seek ye to know the Word of God, and the Kingdom of God.—2, Know that about God there is neither greatness, place, quality, figure, or time, for he is all, through all, and about all.—3, This Word, O Son! worship and adore : and the only service of God is not to be evil.—4, Remember that virtue, honesty, and religion, are the grounds and ends of all good men's actions.—5, Build more upon an honest man's word than a bad man's bond.—6, Trust not any man that has not approved himself a man of sound principles, and a good conscience ; for he who is false to God can never be a true man.—7, Remember that he is a happy king who loves his people, and is beloved by them.—8, That the strength of a king is in the love of his people.—9, That princes ought to be better than other men, because they command and rule all.—10, That a good prince ought first to preserve the service of God and his church, and next the commonwealth, before his own pleasure.—11, That he can never be a good statesman that regardeth not the public more than his own advantage.—12, That honour is the reward of virtue, but gotten with labour, and held with danger.—13, That counsel without resolution and execution is but wind.—14, That division in council is most dangerous.—15, That attempts are most probable when wisely formed, and secretly and speedily executed.—16, That union is the strength, and division the ruin of any body politic.—17, That the taking or losing an opportunity was the gaining or losing a project or fortune.—18, That war is soon kindled, but peace very hardly procured.—19, That war is the curse, and peace the blessing of God upon a nation.—20, That a nation gaineth more by one year's peace than ten years' war.—21, That a nation can never be rich that hath not trade and commerce with other nations.—22, That no man can get riches of himself, but by means and assistance of others.—23, That riches are God's blessing to such that use them well, and his curse to such as do not.—24, That all things in the world are valuable as we esteem them ; for a little to him that thinketh it enough is great riches.—25, That wild, lewd, and unthrift youth is frequently the parents' fault in making them men seven years too soon.—26, That youth are guilty of much folly and extravagance, having but children's judgments, therefore should be instructed and governed with the greatest prudence and tenderness.—27, That the better to prevent the follies of youth, the ancient Romans had a law, by which their sons were not permitted to possess their father's estate until they arrived at the age of twenty-five years.

In the Earl's letters to Lord Strange we also meet with many sapient injunctions and observations, which shew his good sense and his ability to give instruction to one destined to be his successor as King of the Isle of Man, and for the proper discharge of the duties of whose important position many of the foregoing aphorisms were intended to prepare Lord Strange. With respect to choosing a wife, and on other matters, he counsels Lord Strange as follows :—

When you arrive at man's estate, use great caution in the choice of a wife, for as that is ill or well done, so is the whole life likely to be afterwards. It is like a project in war, wherein a man can probably err but once. If your estate be good, match near home and at leisure ; but if weak or encumbered, marry afar off and quickly. Inquire well into her disposition, and how her parents have been in their youth. Let her not be poor, how generous soever ; for a man can buy nothing in a market with gentility : nor choose an uncomely creature for wealth ; for it will cause contempt in others, and loathing with you. Choose not a dwarf or a fool ; the children of one will be pignies, and the other your disgrace by a continual clack ; and there is nothing more fulsome than a she-fool. As to your housekeeping, let it be moderate, rather plentiful than niggardly ; for no man ever grew poor by keeping an orderly table. Banish drunkenness as a bane to health, consuming much, and making no show. * * * Undertake no suit against a poor man on receiving much wrong, for you will make him your equal ; and it is but a base conquest where there is no resistance.

As yet no public monument has been erected to the memory of the Earl of Derby ; but it is satisfactory to observe that a numerous and influential committee of noblemen and gentlemen of England have determined to erect a memorial statue,

in the town of Bolton, of James Earl of Derby. The idea seems to have originated with the members of the Chetham Society; and immediately upon the idea being suggested of raising a statue of the Earl it met with the warm approval of the gentlemen of Bolton, a number of whom formed themselves into a committee, and eventually commissioned W. Calder Marshall, Esq., R.A., to prepare a model sketch of the Earl in the act of addressing the people from the scaffold. The model has already been prepared, and has been approved by the committee as the model for the intended memorial statue. The dominant sentiment conveyed by the statue is profound resignation, not, however, without some touch of regret for the illegality of the death about to be inflicted by order of the Parliament, "after quarter given" at the time he surrendered himself a prisoner; and this feeling in its subdued expression is quite in keeping with the Earl yearning for the people while he stood upon the scaffold, and praying, with almost his last breath, that "God would soon again send them a king and laws." The precise time, however, supposed to be represented by the statue is just when the Earl, after kissing the scaffold and addressing the people looks towards the church, saying, "I will look towards Thy sanctuary whilst I am here, and I hope to live in Thy heavenly sanctuary hereafter." The costume of the Earl is also looked upon as being unexceptionably accurate. As the Earl was made a prisoner while on the march, he is supposed to have worn, with or without the breastplate, the familiar buff doublet peculiar to the time,—the garb which Sir Walter Scott has made Sir Geoffrey Peveril describe with characteristic bluntness as the dress worn by that gallant Royalist even when he led his lady to the altar. The only decoration introduced by Mr. Marshall in his sketch is that of the George, which the Earl put on, on the morning of his execution, and which he instructed Lord Strange to return after his death to his gracious Sovereign, as he received it, "spotless and free from any stain, according to the honourable example of his ancestors." The artist has also displayed equal care in the minuter details, the collar and cuffs being closely in accordance with the least questioned portraits of the Earl, whose dress is invariably distinguished by an almost total absence of ornamentation, the very edges being plain, and not vandyked, as is commonly to be seen in most of the portraits of the period; and considering the great simplicity of the Earl's character, it is hardly to be doubted that the usual dress of Earl James was such as to "proclaim

the man" who could find comfort in dying on the scaffold "a souldier, a Christian, and Christ's souldier."*

In the beginning of October, whilst the Earl of Derby was a prisoner at Chester, Captain Young, on board the President frigate, by the command of the Parliamentary leaders, summoned the Isle of Man to surrender; but the Countess of Derby, not knowing the fate of the Royalists in England, and being still determined to hold and defend the island for the Earl and the Royalist cause with the same noble spirit and fidelity to her husband that had been so often heroically and successfully displayed during the siege at Lathom, returned the answer that—"Lady Derby keeps the island by her Lord's commands, and without his orders she will not deliver it up; being in duty bound to obey her Lord's commands."

The Earl of Derby, however, having suffered a fate similar to that of the late King and others who had sacrificed their lives and their all on behalf of the interests of royalty, the attention of the Parliamentarians was now specially directed to the object of forcibly seizing from the widowed Countess of Derby the little kingdom of Man, which had afforded a home and a shelter to many gallant Royalists from the fury of the enemy, and was then the only place in the three kingdoms resisting their power: Accordingly, on the 25th of October, 1651, a very formidable fleet of ten ships and a considerable force of military appeared before the island, under the joint command of the two worthies Duckinfield and Birch. At this time the governor of the island, under the Countess, was Sir Philip Musgrave, a renowned Cavalier, and of an ancient Cumberland family, who, with Sir Thomas Armstrong and his brother (the former of whom held Peel Castle, and the latter commanded at Rushen) resolved to hold the island against the Parliament for the King.

The letters written by the Earl of Derby just before his death and confided to Captain Baggerley, had not yet been delivered to the Countess (Baggerley himself being a prisoner at Chester), consequently she was not acquainted with the affectionate and dying will and advice of the Earl that she should no longer resist a power that then had "command of

* At an influential meeting held at Bolton, on the 10th April, 1863, the Mayor, J. R. Wolfenden, presiding, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—"That a permanent record of important events in the history of the town being a duty due to posterity, it is proper to erect a statue to the Seventh Earl of Derby, who suffered death in Bolton." "That the model sketch of the proposed statue, prepared by William Calder Marshall, R.A., is approved by this meeting, that a subscription be entered into for its erection in bronze, and that the inscription on the pedestal be, 'James, Seventh Earl of Derby, suffered death here, 15th October, 1651.'"—The proposed statue is intended to be erected over the spot on which the Earl of Derby forfeited his life.

three kingdoms ;” nor does it appear when Baggerley was permitted to deliver the Earl’s last letters to the Countess, and to acquaint her with the will of the Earl touching the occupation of the island against the Parliamentarians. Of the fact that Duckinfield knew that it was the will of the Earl of Derby that the Countess should not hold out any longer against a power so unequal there can be no doubt, but of this he had not the gallantry to avail himself, and so, laying aside even the customary form of a summons to surrender, he wrote a flippant and ungallant letter to the Countess, wherein he gives her the first intimation of her sad loss and bereavement by speaking of “the *late* Earl, her husband,” and informing her that he was about to take possession of the island.* It was in vain that Musgrave and Armstrong continued firm to their purpose, for, on Duckinfield approaching the shore, the Manxmen, either from fear or sedition, put off in their boats to meet and welcome the invaders, whom they landed triumphantly on the island ; and Captain Christian, of whose former seditions and infidelity Lord Derby speaks in his letter to Charles, Lord Strange, already noticed, placed himself at the head of the invaders, and treacherously surrendered the island almost without conditions, and was the agent by whom the widowed Countess and her young fatherless children and the governors of both castles were seized in the middle of the night, and handed over as prisoners to the “tender mercies” of Duckinfield and Birch, who falsely informed the Countess that Captain Christian “had surrendered the island upon articles.” The Countess and her children being thus betrayed into the hands of their enemies, the grand object of the Parliamentarians was attained ; but, as Hume observes, the Countess had “the glory of being the last person in the three kingdoms, and in all their dependent dominions, who submitted to the victorious Commonwealth ;” and it is worthy of note, as an interesting historical fact, that as Charlotte de la Tremouille Countess of Derby was the last to submit, the Earl of Derby had been the first to strike a blow in these civil wars on behalf of Royalty and the Church.

The news of the capture, or rather surrender of the Isle of Man, and the taking of the Countess of Derby and her children prisoners, was received by the Parliamentarians in London with great exultation ; and the Parliament voted its thanks to Duckinfield and Birch ; and the messenger who conveyed the tidings had £100 awarded to him.

* Heath.

The Countess Dowager of Derby and her children were now taken and rigorously confined as prisoners. On being taken a prisoner, it is stated the Countess asked permission to reside at Peel, having planned a scheme whence to escape to France or Holland ; but this liberty was peremptorily denied her, and Rushen Castle was appointed as the place of her captivity ; and in a dismal dungeon in that castle she remained for nine long years ; and during her incarceration two of her children—Edward and William—were seized with the small-pox whilst within the cold damp walls forming their prison. The revenue of the Isle of Man, according to Whitelock, at this time was about £1500 per annum ; but all that was allowed the Countess was about £200 in plate.

The Isle of Man, having now fell into the possession of the Parliament, was given to General Sir Thomas Fairfax, who was unquestionably a brave and an accomplished soldier, and likewise a good and humane man. In 1652, James Challoner* was appointed a commissioner for ruling the island ; and, in 1658, Sir Thomas Fairfax made him governor, and consequently he became gaoler to the Countess of Derby ; and now the imprisonment of the Countess and her surviving children was somewhat relaxed, and eventually they were allowed to wander in obscurity in the island in great distress, depending for their subsistence on the alms of impoverished but faithful and sympathising friends. In this forlorn condition the Countess and her children languished till the Restoration ; and to some of the incidents previous to the advent of which it may not be out of place now briefly to advert.

The whole of the country having succumbed to the Parliamentary army under Cromwell, the general now began to fix his thoughts, if not on the dignity of royalty itself, certainly on an equivalent position of authority ; but, as his aspirations strengthened, he had the mortification of seeing that the Par-

* Challoner appears to have borne a most extraordinary character. By birth and attainments he is described as a gentleman, but condescended to become a Roundhead, not from any principle either good or bad, but because he found it the stronger side, a choice men are often too prone to make ; but yet, though he had thus been favoured by the party to whom he had attached himself, he could never allow an opportunity to pass that allowed him a chance of amusing himself at their expense. The account of his death, as given by Aubrey, is very remarkable, and may not be uninteresting to the reader:—"After the restoration of Charles the 2d, he kept the castle of the Isle of Man, where he kept a pretty wench that was his concubine. When they told him the castle was demanded for his Majesty, he spake to his girl to make him a posset, which did, in a very short time, make him fall a vomiting exceedingly : and, after some time vomited nothing but blood. His retchings were so violent that the standers by were much grieved to behold it. Within three hours he died. The demandants of the castle came and saw him dead ; but he was swollen so extremely that they could not see any eie he had, and no more of his nose than the tip of it, which shewed like a wart. This account I had from Geo. Estcourt, D.D., whose brother-in-law, Nathan, was one of those that sawe him."—[See also *Wood's Athenæ.*]

liament became daily more jealous of his power ; and that, without, a dissolution of Parliament was vigorously demanded ; and the House, taking the initiative, resolved to bring forward a bill admitting to a future Parliament the Presbyterians, who were now the determined foes of Cromwell and the Independents, and to dissolve immediately after passing it. This bill was brought forward on the 20th of April, 1653, but Cromwell, having his own partisans on the spot, and ready to serve his purpose, prolonged the debate while information was forwarded to him by Colonel Ingoldsby of the nature and progress of the business in the House. Cromwell, in a rage, immediately hastened to the scene of the debate, being accompanied by a body guard of 300 soldiers, when one of the most extraordinary and disgraceful scenes of which the House of Commons was ever the theatre took place within its walls. According to some historians, Cromwell entered the House alone, leaving the soldiers in the lobby ; while others inform us that they entered the house with him. One account represents him as never having taken a seat ; while, according to another, he went to his usual place, and sat listening with much impatience to the debate for some time ; and then stamping with his foot, that being the signal for the soldiers to enter, he poured upon the Parliament the vilest reproaches for their tyranny, ambition, oppression, and robbery of the public, making use of the coarsest language to the members :—"For shame," said he to the members present, "get you gone ; give place to honest men ; to those who will more faithfully discharge their trust. You are no longer a parliament. The Lord has done with you : He has chosen other instruments for carrying on this work." On Sir Peter Wentworth remonstrating, Cromwell replied, "Come, come, sir, I will put an end to your prating ! You are no parliament ! I say you are no parliament !" Sir Harry Vane indignantly exclaimed, "This is not honest ; it is against morality and common honesty." Cromwell, in a loud voice, now retorted, "Sir Harry Vane, oh, Sir Harry Vane ! he is a juggler, and has not common honesty himself ! The Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane !" Taking hold of Henry Martin by the cloak he said, "Thou art a whoremaster." To another, "Thou art an adulterer." To a third, "Thou art a drunkard and a glutton ;" and to a fourth, "Thou art an extortioner." He then commanded a soldier to seize the mace, saying, "What shall we do with this fool's bauble ? Here, take it away. It is you," addressing himself to the

House, "that have forced me upon this. I have sought the Lord night and day, that he would rather slay me than put me upon this work." Sir William Lenthall, the Speaker, was ejected from the chair, and Algernon Sydney was forcibly removed. The soldiers having cleared the house, Cromwell went out last, and having ordered the doors to be locked, put the keys into his pocket, and departed to his lodgings in Whitehall. This extraordinary scene appears to have taken place early on the morning of the 21st of April; and in the afternoon of the same day, Cromwell announced to his colleagues in the Council of State the termination of their powers, as the Parliament from which they derived their authority was no longer in existence, when Bradshaw, the president, replied, "Sir, we have heard what you did at the house this morning; and, before many hours, all England will know of it. But, sir, you are mistaken that the Parliament is dissolved. No person under heaven can dissolve them but themselves. Therefore take you notice of that."*

Cromwell, however, with the army on his side, knew and felt convinced that he had dissolved the Parliament; and no man knew better than he did, that the existence of such a Parliament (consisting of a mere clique of about fifty members) he had thus furiously broken up, was as illegal as his own summary proceeding; and he knew also full well that his success in the contest was but the inevitable result of two unequal parties engaged in a struggle for an illegal object, and so only afforded another instance of power displacing weakness, and not of might triumphing over right; for the men who had been the active agents in overthrowing two branches of the constitution—the sovereign and the peers—and disgusting the majority of the landed and other commoners, could not be looked upon as a legal body. Thus justly and ingloriously and uncared for fell the last remnant of the "Long Parliament," crushed under and triumphed over by the very army it had called into existence, and under whose shield and by whose sword it had struck down royalty and murdered many of the first nobles of the land, including the Earl of Derby and others.

The next step taken by Cromwell was that of summoning by name 139 persons, favourable to himself, and constituting them a parliament. This Parliament, known as the "Little Parliament," and sometimes "Barebone's Parliament," from a corruption of Praise-God Barbone, the name of a prominent

* Whitelock, Rapin, and Hume.

and noisy and busy member of it, and a leather dealer, met at Whitehall, July 4th, 1653. It appears to have met merely for the purpose of surrendering its power to Cromwell, who was declared "Protector" by a council of the officers of his army. The little Parliament was abruptly dissolved in 1654, by the Protector, though against the advice of Whitelock and his friends generally; but, being somewhat successful at home and abroad, he was encouraged to assemble another Parliament in 1656; but finding the majority of its members intractable, he ordered the doors of the House to be guarded in order that no member should be admitted not having an order from the council. The Parliament thus purged voted the abolition of all title to the throne in the family of the Stuarts; and it was even moved by Colonel Jephson that the crown should be bestowed upon Cromwell. After much wavering, however, Cromwell reluctantly rejected the offer, feeling that the danger of accepting it would be imminent, while the increase of power, his favourite object, would be trifling. Cromwell's treatment of his parliaments was arbitrary, and the Republican members began to exclaim, "Have we cut down tyranny in one person, and shall the nation be shackled by another?" while the Royalists repeated the interrogation, "Hast thou, like Ahab, killed and taken possession?" For the success of the English army and navy and the home and foreign policy of the Protector during the Commonwealth the reader is referred to the history of the time. The foreign policy of Cromwell has been variously estimated. It seems to have been imprudent for the most part, but somewhat magnanimous, enterprising, and ultimately successful, and many of his soldiers who had fought on the battle fields of Marston-moor, Naseby, Dunbar, and Worcester, had been instrumental in striking down the Spanish power in the Netherlands, and they had also fought and conquered beneath the walls of Dunkirk, under the eye of Turenne; whilst Admiral Blake, "the Puritan Sea King," and the Royalist Admiral Monk defeated the Dutch Admiral Van Tromp, and made the Dutch acknowledge the sovereignty claimed by the English flag in the narrow seas; Blake having reminded his officers, "It is not our business to mind state affairs, but to keep foreigners from fooling us."

Fatigued by the pressure of public business, much concerned at the general prevalence of discontent, and harrassed by the fear of assassination, the health of Cromwell gave way, and he died of fever and ague at Whitehall, in the 60th year

of his age, on the afternoon of September 3rd, 1658, the anniversary of his victories over the Royalists at Dunbar and Worcester; and we are told that a fearful tempest raged in England, and nearly over the whole of Europe on the preceding night and morning. "His burial," says Sir Walter Scott, "was conducted with unusual pomp and magnificence" at Westminster;* but his corpse was not suffered to rest in peace. At the Restoration his body was disinterred by the Royalists, and having been hung at Tyburn was cast into a hole beneath the gallows.†

Oliver Cromwell was succeeded as Lord Protector by his eldest surviving son, Richard, who was then in the thirty-second year of his age, and who was proclaimed with all the pomp and ceremony usual on the accession of a sovereign.‡ Richard Cromwell, however, not being, like his father, a military man, Fleetwood, his brother-in-law, was appointed commander-in-chief; while Henry Cromwell, brother of the new Protector, was at the head of the army in Ireland, as lord-deputy; and General Monk was entrusted with the government of Scotland.

Hitherto Richard Cromwell had chiefly moved in a private sphere, leading the life of a country gentleman in Hampshire, which appears to have been most suited both to his tastes and abilities. Being, on this account, despised by the army as a peaceful civilian, he pursued the only course open to him, namely, that of summoning a Parliament, which was called in the usual form, and assembled on the 27th of January, 1659; but no sooner had the Parliament met than stormy debates arose between those who were in favour of the Constitution as left by Oliver Cromwell and maintained by the army on the one hand, and the opposition which was formed by the Presbyterians and some concealed Cavaliers on the other. An act of recognition, however, was passed; but, on attempting to abate the power of the military element, a rupture ensued, which proved fatal to the Parliament, for the leading officers became the heads and leaders of respective factions, which resulted in a general council being organised to maintain

* Cromwell was interred in Henry VII.'s Chapel, amongst the Kings and Queens of England, and the expenses attending his funeral are stated at £60,000.—See Rapin and Manley.

† *Tales of a Grandfather.*

‡ In the last days of Cromwell's illness, it is said that he was asked twice concerning his successor, when he readily answered he would have his son Richard, notwithstanding that during his protectorship he signed an instrument by which he appointed Fleetwood, his son-in-law, for his successor. Some say that Oliver had actually made Fleetwood his heir; but one of his daughters knowing where his will was, took it away, and burned it before Fleetwood could come at it.—Fleetwood married Cromwell's daughter Bridget, the widow of Ireton.

the supremacy of the army, now threatened by the civilians. In return, the army demanded the dissolution of the Parliament, either in a peaceful way by the Protector's own authority, or see it accomplished by the sword. The Protector, preferring the former alternative, dissolved his Parliament on the 22nd of April, and shortly afterwards signed his abdication in form, after having been Protector little more than seven months.

Richard Cromwell now retired into that obscure and humble life, from which it would have been better for his comfort if he had never ventured, burdened with enormous debts, arising partly from the pompous funeral of his father; and though the Parliament had voted him £20,000 towards those extravagant expenses, yet he was unable to meet the claims of his creditors, and in order to escape from them, after the Restoration, he went abroad.*

Both the Parliament and the people now began to feel the want of a ruler, and their attention was directed towards their exiled Sovereign, for it was found that Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborough, and others whose names had become notorious amid the prevailing political chaos, had more ability to overthrow a government than to form one themselves. At length, however, they came to an understanding with the republican party, with whom they effected a coalition, in the repudiation of their own act, by restoring the remnant of the Long Parliament, which, six years before, they had assisted Cromwell so ignominiously to dissolve. Fresh disagreements soon succeeded this coalition movement, and the English Parliament House was again cleared by military force, and disunion in the army itself followed in the wake. At this time, General Monk marched from Scotland at the head of 7,000 troops, and arrived in London on the 4th of February, 1660, and took up his quarters at Whitehall; and, after ascertaining the state of the popular feeling, to the dismay of the republican party, he declared in favour of a free Parliament; and the Presbyterian members, who had been expelled by Colonel Pride's purgation, returned to their seats in the Long Parliament, and that remarkable body finally dissolved itself, previously issuing writs for a new Parliament to meet on the 25th of April. The new Parliament consisted chiefly of Cavaliers and Presby-

* He returned after an absence of twenty years and resided at Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire, at first under a feigned name, where he died in 1712, at the advanced age of 86. On the abdication of Richard Cromwell, the other members of the Cromwell family returned to their original obscurity. Oliver's widow received the title of "her highness dowager" during the brief protectorate of her son. She finally retired to the house of her son-in-law, Claypole, of Norborough, in Lincolnshire, where she died in 1665.

terians ; and Monk availed himself of a private interview with one of the King's agents, to whom he made no secret of his wish to see Charles upon the throne, and gave assurances to further steps to effect its realisation to the best of his ability, and advised the issuing of a manifesto offering a nearly general pardon, liberty of conscience, and a confirmation of all sales of property made during the recent civil wars and troubles. On the 1st of May, letters were received from the King, one of which contained the celebrated declaration for the allaying of the fears of those who had been so long engaged in open rebellion against royalty. The following is an extract from this declaration :—

“ And to the end that fear of punishment may not engage any conscious to themselves of what is past, to a perseverance in guilt to the future, by opposing the quiet and happiness of their country, in the restoration both of King, Peers, and People, to their just, ancient, and fundamental rights : We do by these presents declare, That we grant a Free and General Pardon, which we are ready upon demand, to pass under our Great Seal of England, to all our Subjects of what degree or quality soever, who within forty days after the publishing hereof, shall lay hold upon this our Grace and Favour, and shall by any public act declare their doing so, and that they return to the loyalty and obedience of good Subjects, excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament : Those only excepted, Let all our Subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the word of a King, solemnly given by this present declaration, That no crime whatsoever, committed against us, or our royal Father, before the publication of this, shall ever rise in judgment, or be brought in question against any of them, to the least endamage of them, either in their lives, liberties, or estates, or (as far forth as lies in our power) so much as to the prejudice of their reputations, by any reproach, or terms of distinction from the rest of our best Subjects ; we desiring and ordaining, That henceforward all notes of discord, separation, and difference of parties, be utterly abolished among all our Subjects, whom we invite and conjure to a perfect union among themselves, under our protection, for the settlement of our just rights and theirs, in a Free Parliament, by which, upon the word of a King, we will be advised.”

Immediately after the reading of the letters and the declaration here alluded to, the Lords, who were prepared for the opportunity, voted “ That according to ancient and fundamental

Laws of this Kingdom, the Government is, and ought to be by King, Lords, and Commons."

The letters and declaration from the King, as well as the decisive vote of the Lords, were next read in the House of Commons, when the Commons readily agreed to the vote of the Lords, and so the King was restored without the requirement of any of the conditions* previously demanded, and which had been the cause of so aggravated and prolonged a civil war, and of the loss of so many noble and valuable lives.

On the 8th of May, Charles, who was still at the Hague, was proclaimed King at the gate at Westminster Hall, with great solemnity; and on the 11th of the same month, commissioners from the Parliament and the city departed for the Hague, where the King gave them an audience on the 16th, and received the homage of Admiral Montague, and the other officers of the English navy. After remaining some days longer at the Hague, preparing for his departure, and receiving the compliments of the States, the King embarked on board the ship *Naseby*, on the 23rd, and arrived at Dover on the 25th, and thence proceeded the same day to Canterbury, where, on the following day, he invested General Monk with the Order of the Garter; and on the 29th of May, being his Majesty's birth-day, he made his public entry into London, amidst the joy and acclamations of a numberless multitude of people, flowers being strewed in the road to Whitehall, the bells ringing merrily, and the old surviving Cavaliers, who had fought at Edgehill, Naseby, and Worcester, weeping for very gladness.

During the domination of the Commonwealth, the whole body of the Cathedral clergy had been ousted by the Parlia-

* Bishop Burnet, in the *History of his own Time*, informs us, that such unanimity appeared in the proceedings of the Parliament for the King's Restoration, that there was not the least dispute among them, but upon one single point, yet that was a very important one. Sir Matthew Hale, afterwards the famous Chief-Justice, moved, That a committee might be appointed to look into the propositions that had been made, and the concessions that had been offered by the late King, and from thence digest such propositions as they should think fit to be sent over to the King. This motion appears to have been seconded, but, by whom, Bishop Burnet forgot. As such a motion was foreseen, Monk had been instructed how to answer it. He told the House, that he had information of such numbers of incendiaries still in the kingdom, that if any delay was put to the sending to the King, he could not answer for the peace either of the nation or the army. And as the King was to bring neither army nor treasure with him, either to fright or corrupt them, propositions might be as well offered to him when he should come over; so he moved for sending commissioners immediately. This was echoed with such a shout over the House, that the motion was no more insisted on. The Bishop observes, this was indeed the great service Monk did; and to the King's coming without conditions may be well imputed all the errors of his reign.—pp. 88, 89.—Within half a century, the dynasty which Charles II. now represented was permanently excluded from the government of the kingdom, not by an act of violence, as in the case of the late King, but by the deliberate decision of both Lords and Commons. It is worthy of remark that on the day before the "Merrie Monarch" reached the metropolis, an infant was born in northern Germany, who became in course of time George I. of England, and the ancestor of the present English Royal House of Brunswick, by which the Stuart line was supplanted.

mentary or Dissenting party, and it is estimated that not less than from six to seven thousand were cruelly ejected from their livings, and some, including the Fellows of Colleges and all ejected from their livings, calculate the number at ten thousand: Gaudon states the number at from 6,000 to 7,000; Walker, 8,000 to 10,000; White, the chairman of the committee, 8,000; and Dr. Hook, in his *Church Dictionary*, at 7,000. Amongst those who were driven out may be mentioned John Owen, D.D., Bishop of St. Asaph, and William Roberts, D.D., Bishop of Bangor. Thomas Howell, D.D., Bishop of Bristol, was most barbarously treated. The rebel and dissenting party took the lead off the roof of his palace, and he, being thrust out of the palace, was exposed to the weather, day and night, owing to which he died soon after, and his palace was converted into a malthouse. James Usher, D.D., Bishop of Carlisle, had his residence pillaged, and he himself deprived of all his possessions, and he died a victim to the trials he endured. Dean Reeves and his wife and four children were taken out of their beds at midnight, and being turned out of doors lay all night under a hedge in the wet and cold. The learned and pious John Gregory, who spent sixteen hours every day in study, was reduced to such poverty that he was compelled to retire to an obscure public-house at Kidlington Green, near Oxford, and after some years died in that obscurity. George Benson was thrust out of his rectory, and his pulpit was filled by a mere layman, who never paid him fifths for the maintenance of his wife and family. Good Joseph Hall, the Bishop of Norwich, was seized one cold frosty night at about eight o'clock and cast into prison, and after his release his property was sequestered, and himself and family abused in the vilest manner. John Cosin, D.D., Dean of Peterborough, was thrown into prison, fined, degraded, deprived, and excommunicated upon false charges connected with his religious opinions. That great champion of Protestantism, Chillingworth, was most cruelly treated, and at his burial one Francis Cheynell, a Dissenting minister, throwing the works of Chillingworth into the grave after his corpse, exclaimed, "Get thee gone, thou cursed book; get thee into the place of rottenness, that thou mayest rot with thy author."* Henry Fowler, rector of Minchin Hampton, was seized, a sword held to his throat, beaten with pole axes, railed at for reading Common Prayer, and, although sixty-two years of age,

* Walker, part ii., p. 63. *Chillingworth's Life*, p. 16. See also *Historical and Critical Account of the Life and Writings of W. Chillingworth*, p. 361.

was beaten and rendered unable to move; then the son was attacked, and then the daughter, and knocked down several times with a pole axe, and the aged mother shared the same treatment, and then the house was plundered. John Holeshead was turned out of his church on Sunday while officiating, and a pistol held to his throat, with a threat of death if he did not comply. Dr. Hammond endured imprisonment for several months. Jeremy Taylor, one of the greatest divines that ever lived, was driven from his parish and took refuge for a time in Wales, and afterwards in Ireland. Numberless other cases might be cited to shew how the Church clergy of the day were cruelly ousted from their livings, and how the parishes were left without competent ministers, or without spiritual teachers at all. For some time previous to the year 1656, the parish of Ormskirk had been in this destitute state, when the people made an earnest request that the Rev. Nathaniel Heywood, then at Illingworth, might come and minister among them, with which request he complied, and the Countess Dowager of Derby presented him with the vicarage of Ormskirk, a pleasing example of the kind of ministers patronised by the distinguished Countess. The following is a copy of the presentation of the vicarage of Ormskirk to the Rev. Nathaniel Heywood, the original of which is still in the possession of the family of Mr. Heywood, a fac-simile of which may be seen in the *Life and Works of Oliver Heywood* :—

CHARLOTTE, the Countess of Derby, the true and undoubted Patroness of the Vicarage of Ormskirk, in the County Palatine of Lancaster, unto the honourable the Commissioners for approbation and admission of Public Preachers, sendeth greeting in the Lord God everlasting. I do present unto you to be admitted unto the Vicarage of Ormskirk aforesaid, being now void, my well beloved in Christ Nathaniel Heywood, minister of God's word, humbly desiring that the said Nathaniel Heywood may be by you admitted unto the said Vicarage with its rights, members and appurtenances. And that you will be pleased to do whatsoever shall be requisite in that behalf for the making him, the said Nathaniel Heywood, Vicar of the Church of Ormskirk aforesaid, according to the late ordinances in that case made and provided. IN WITNESS whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal the seventh day of August, in the year of our Lord God one thousand six hundred fifty and six.

DERBY.

With the memorable Restoration of the Monarchy in the person of Charles II. followed the liberation from prison and exile those surviving Royalists whose devotion and loyalty to the late unhappy Sovereign had made them obnoxious to the perpetrators and abettors of that usurpation which was now eagerly abandoned, because its representatives were no longer able to agree among themselves. Of the distinguished personages thus happily restored to liberty, was Charlotte de la Tremouille, Countess Dowager of Derby, and her daughters, the Lady Henriette-Maria, the Lady Katherine, and the Lady

Amelia-Anna-Sophia. The misfortunes and long imprisonment to which the Countess had been subjected, and the gloomy meditations they had given rise to, naturally led her to seek to revenge in some manner the death of him whom she ever loved with the deepest tenderness and devotion, and whose memory was indelibly engraved on her affections.

In the month of September, a mandate, issued by Charles, the eighth Earl of Derby, dated at Lathom, ordered Captain William Christian, in the Isle of Man, to be proceeded against for his illegal actions, the indictment charging him with "being the head of an insurrection against the Countess of Derby in 1651, assuming the power unto himself, and depriving her Ladyship, his Lordship, and heirs thereof." On this and other charges Christian was tried and condemned to be shot, which sentence was executed on the 2nd of January, 1662-3. In the later editions of Sir Walter Scott's *Peveril of the Peak* may be found, in the form of an Appendix to the Introduction, an elaborate defence of Christian by his descendant, Mr. Dempster Christian, and also the last speech of Christian, just before his execution. The extent of Christian's guilt and the legality of his trial are, with some, subjects of dispute; but Sir Walter Scott, who has brought his powerful mind to an investigation of the disputed points in the defence of Mr. Dempster Christian, thus expresses himself:—"It must be admitted, on the other hand, that Captain Christian's trial and execution were conducted according to the laws of the island. He was tried in all due form, by the Dempster, or chief judge, then named Norris, the Keys of the island, and other constitutional authorities, making what is called a Tinwald Court. * * * It was pleaded that the articles against Christian were found fully relevant, and as he refused to plead at the bar, that he was, according to the Laws of Man, most justly sentenced to death. It was also stated that full time was left for appeal to England, as he was apprehended about the end of September, and not executed until the 2nd of January, 1662. These defences were made for the various officers of the Isle of Man called before the Privy Council, on account of Christian's death, and supported with many quotations from the Laws of the Island, and appear to have been received as a sufficient defence for their share in those proceedings." After stating that the death of Christian made a very deep impression on the minds of the islanders, Sir Walter Scott thus dismisses the subject:—"Many in the island deny Christian's guilt altogether, like his

respectable descendant, the present Dempster ; but there are others, and those men of judgment and respectability, who are so far of a different opinion, that they only allow the execution to have been wrong in so far as the culprit died by a military rather than a civil death. I willingly drop the vail over a transaction which took place *flagrantibus odiis* at the conclusion of a civil war, when Revenge was at least awake if Justice slept.”*

As might also naturally be expected, not only by her friends and admirers, but even by the delinquents themselves, Lady Derby petitioned the Peers for justice on the members of the infamous Chester tribunal, and a committee of privileges being formed, Duckinfield, Bradshaw, and others were ordered into custody. Colonel Duckinfield,† having heard of the intended confinement to which he was deservedly to be subjected, transferred the whole of his property to his son, and submitting himself to the Peers, found unexpected mercy, and after a short imprisonment returned to Chester ; but his son refused to restore to him his estates, and would only allow him a small cottage and a coal mine. He died in 1689, aged 74. The notorious “ President ” Bradshaw, too, after being carried to London, was also dismissed.

The Countess of Derby now retired to her seat at Knowsley, where, after witnessing the ingratitude of the King towards her family, and bowed down with affliction and so many years’ suffering, she died in peace on the 22nd of March, 1663, and, on the 6th of April, her body was buried by the side of the headless body of her Lord in the family vault at Ormskirk, as is recorded in the following entry in the burial register at the Church, and which, we regret to say, is the only memorial in the Church to the memory of the illustrious and heroic Charlotte de la Tremouille Countess of Derby :—

Burials April 1663.

Sharlett Countess Dowager of Derby

Departed this Life at Knowsley

the xxii day of March 1663

entombed in her owne Chancell the 6th Aprill.

Post Funera Virtus.

* Sir Walter Scott gives the following certified extract which had been supplied to him by the Vicar of Malew :—“ Malew Burials, A.D. 1662. Mr. William Christian of Ronaldswing, late receiver, was shot to death at Hange Hall, the 2d January. He died most penitently and courageously, made a good end, prayed earnestly, made an excellent speech, and the next day was buried in the chancell of Kirk Malew.”

† Robert Duckinfield was the representative of an ancient and wealthy family resident at the village of Duckinfield, in Cheshire. He was born in 1615-6. At the commencement of the troubles he espoused the Presbyterian side, and by marrying the daughter of Sir Miles Fleetwood, of Heskin, in Lancashire, the sister of the general of that name (already noticed as the son-in-law of Oliver Cromwell), Duckinfield became firmly attached to the Cromwell faction. Whatever of principle influenced the early conduct of Duckinfield, it is clear that after the ascendancy of Cromwell, he became the unshrinking partisan of Fleetwood. He had separated himself from the Presbyterians by approving the execrable murder of King Charles I., and by opposing his son, Charles II., in 1651. He was the only Cheshire-man who sat in the Barebones Parliament.



T. A. S.

OÜILLE.

COUNTESS OF DERBY.

OB. 1663

In the collection of family portraits at Knowsley is that of the Countess, which, like that of the Earl her husband, is by Vandyke. The Countess is richly attired, has graceful and pleasant features, with the hair disposed in ringlets upon the forehead, and her features bespeak the "sagacity, prudence, loyalty, grandeur of spirit, and active heroism" which so highly distinguished her character through life, and rendered her memory so lastingly interesting to the readers of history and to the admirers of female fortitude and endurance amidst trials of persecution, affliction, and bereavement. Hers was truly a noble spirit; and her illustrious and heroic conduct in the great struggle in the great Civil War has made the interest attached to her memory second to that of none of all the noble and gallant spirits who deemed it their duty as Christian patriots to take their part in the conflict on the side of the Throne and the Church of their country.—In the Queen's Gallery, at Hampton Court, there is also a portrait of the Countess by L. de Heere.

The children of Earl James and his Countess were five sons and four daughters:—1, Charles, who succeeded his father as the eighth Earl of Derby. 2, Charlotte, born 15th of March, 1628, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, 4th April, 1629. 3, Henriette-Maria (or Mary), born 17th November, 1630, who married first Richard Viscount Molyneux, and secondly William Wentworth, second Earl of Strafford, and died 27th December, 1685. 4, Katherine, born 4th December, 1631, who was married to Henry Pierrepont, Marquis of Dorchester, and an extract from "An Epithalamium upon the nuptials of the princely pair" will, no doubt, be read with interest, as it is taken from a work* of great rarity:—

PHILEMON.

What object's that which I behold
Dazzling my eyes with gems of gold?

* * * * *

My dearest Sylvius, pray unfold
Who's that rare creature I behold?

SYLVIVS.

She is a princess and a bride,
Goes to the Temple to be tide
In nuptial bonds; her stars will not permit
That at the vestal fires she longer sit;
She's Derby's royal blood, Derby le Gran,

* * * * *

She of the Princely Orange is a branch;
Imp'd on the high Trimoullian stem of France,
Two of the fairest kingdoms strove and tride
Their utmost to complete this lovely bride.
'Tis she which makes, 'twixt gems and gold,
That constellation you behold.

* "Poems on several choice and various subjects," &c., 1663.—See *Stanley Papers*, by Thomas Heywood, Esq., F.S.A., published by the Chetham Society.

5, Amelia-Anna-Sophia, who became the wife of John Murray, second Earl and first Marquis of Athol, in whose descendants the Isle of Man and the Barony of Strange became invested. 6, Henry-Frederick, born 24th February, 1634, and died 27th March, 1638, and was buried at Ormskirk. 7, James, born 2nd November, 1636, died 27th March, 1638, and buried at Ormskirk. 8, Edward, born 7th of January, 1638, died unmarried at Portsmouth, and was interred at Ormskirk on the 7th of March, 1664. 9, William, born 18th November, 1641, and also died unmarried, and was buried at Ormskirk on the 23rd of December, 1670.

The following lines by the author of "Notes on the Journal of the Siege of Lathom House," published in the *Kaleidoscope*, 1821, may not be deemed inappropriately introduced here to conclude this portion of the present sketch, particularly as the old castellated mansion of Lathom, at the time of the death of its heroic defender in the first siege, was merely a heap of ruins :—

Fair Lathom is no more ! Her goodly towers,
Fashion'd for rugged war, or gaudy state,
Her massy walls, her green and secret bowers,
Downshaken by the Roundhead's ceaseless hate !
Yet the bold spirit lives ; and yet the race
Of Stanley fill their unforgotten place :
And though on Bosworth, Stoke, and Flodden Mount,
No longer we their valiant deeds recount ;
Old Isis murmurs in his tuneful flood,
Of one, that late along his margin woo'd,
And with no vulgar skill inspiring lays,
Drawn from far distant lands, and other days.
The lands he whilome sang, the days he lov'd,
That boy advent'rous seeks, where time hath prov'd
How swift of man's exulting works the doom,
And prostrate lies great Cæsar's trophied tomb,
And fallen his palace, and the boasted fane
Rear'd to his god, is sought—and sought in vain
Where the dull peasant sows what others reap ;
And strangers (once Rome's vassals) pause to weep
Her sunken name, and willing Helot state,
Of freedom, as of valour, desolate :
From scenes like these, back to thy native shire,
With brow more thoughtful, eye of temper'd fire,
Wand'rer, return ! and may thine onward life,
With all the glories of thy sires be rife !
The loyalty for which they fearless bled,
"The Stanley hand, Vere's heart, and Cecil's head."
Oh ! may Saturnian times return with thee,
And what time-honour'd Lathom was, may Knowsley be !

CHARLES, EIGHTH EARL OF DERBY.

On the death of Earl James, whose loyal and heroic career and tragic sacrifice at Bolton will ever maintain a place in the history of the dreadful events in which he played so noble and conspicuous a part, and whose memory, with that of his illustrious Countess, will ever be embalmed in the hearts of the loyal people of this country, the title and estates descended to

his eldest son, Charles, Lord Strange, who became the eighth Earl of Derby of the Stanley family.

From infancy this young nobleman had been made acquainted, by sad experience, with the bereavements and privations arising from the great Civil War in England. He was born on the 19th of January, 1627, and accompanied his father at the great muster of the Royalists on Preston Moor, on the 20th of June, 1642, being then only fifteen years of age. During the siege of Lathom House his lordship appears to have resided in the Isle of Man, for we are told that the children of Lord Derby (Charles Lord Strange, Edward and William, and the Ladies Henriette-Maria, Katherine, and Amelia-Sophia) visited England in 1645, under a pass from Sir Thomas Fairfax, with hopes of obtaining a fifth part of the paternal estate under an ordinance of that year, and whose petition was granted in 1647, when they were put into the possession of Knowsley, under the temporary protecting influence of Fairfax. Shortly after this, however, two of the children (the Ladies Katherine and Amelia) were removed to Liverpool, and there kept prisoners by Colonel Birch, under the direction of President Bradshaw, owing, as was alleged, to Lord Derby holding the Isle of Man against the Parliament. From this time it appears Charles, Lord Strange, was allowed his liberty, and the other three children (Henriette-Maria and Edward and William) were permitted to return to their parents in the Isle of Man.

In 1650, Charles (still Lord Strange) married Dorothea-Helena, maid of honour to the Queen of Bohemia, and daughter of John Kirkhoven, Baron of Rupa, in Holland, of an honourable family, but of limited means; and probably this alliance, contracted against the will or without the knowledge of the father, was one of the causes that somewhat disturbed the harmony between Earl James and his son Lord Strange; and possibly it is to this circumstance that the Earl alludes, in his letter to his Countess, whilst a prisoner in Chester Castle and just before his execution, when he says, "I will say nothing at this time, except that my son shews great affection, and is gone to London with exceeding concern and passion for my good; he is much changed for the better, I thank God, and would have been a greater comfort to me if I could have left him more, or if he had provided better for himself." At the annual meeting of the Chetham Society, held on the 1st of March, 1862, Mr. Canon Raines, who, we are told, by the expressed wish of the late or thirteenth Earl, has had entrust-

ed to him, and is preparing for publication under the auspices of the Chetham Society, a further set of MSS. in the handwriting of the martyred Earl, in speaking of the will of the Earl, which forms one of the MSS. here alluded to, said the Earl seems to have been on very bad terms with his son, Lord Strange, and "wished even to deprive him of all the estates which were not entailed."

During the time Earl James was engaged in the struggle on behalf of his King and country, or exerting himself for the protection of his own possessions, Lord Strange seems to have remained, for some reason or other, in a state of almost perfect inaction; and it is somewhat remarkable that in all the Earl's injunctions and letters he never appoints or alludes to his son as the natural protector of his family. The Earl appears to have been very anxious to impress upon the youthful mind of Lord Strange certain practical rules and maxims, already noticed, which, as a solicitous parent, and one well acquainted with the different phases and usages of society and the various temptations which beset the youthful mind, he well knew were necessary to guard his son from those mistakes in life which, from his position and youth, Lord Strange was liable to fall into; but in no way does the Earl present to the Countess in her distress any solace from his heir beyond that he was "much changed for the better." Owing to the wise and prudent reserve of the Earl, at a time when the unity of families, as well as that of the nation, was disturbed, the cause or combination of causes which had given concern to the Earl respecting his son can only be guessed at, and possibly it was only some political question, in which even a son may pardonably be allowed to differ conscientiously from his parent, that had in some way interfered with the domestic harmony of the noble parties; and this probability may the more reasonably be received when it is remembered that Lord Strange was at liberty even when two of the Earl's daughters were subjected to close and malicious imprisonment.

When Charles succeeded to the earldom, his pecuniary means were circumscribed to almost the narrowest limit: Lathom House, once the pride of the county, was a heap of ruins, and all the estates belonging to it under sequestration; and Knowsley was in a condition little superior, being out of repair and also somewhat ruinous, great devastations having been committed not only in the house, but in the gardens and park; and not only those of Lathom, but half of the estates of the family had either been sold or sequestered, owing to

his father's devotion to Charles I. and the cause of his ungrateful son, Charles II.

After the execution of his father, Earl Charles and his Countess retired to Bidston Hall,* in Cheshire, which was built by William, the sixth Earl and grandfather of Earl Charles, soon after he succeeded to the title and estates of his ill-fated brother Ferdinando, and here they lived in economical retirement, imposed upon them by the embarrassments resulting from the Civil War.

In 1659, Cromwell being dead, and the Parliament of the day having, by its divisions and tyranny, become obnoxious to no inconsiderable portion of the nation, the Royalists projected an insurrection in several parts of the kingdom, hoping that the Presbyterians would assist, and that it would become in the end general. Accordingly a resolution was adopted by the Royalists and many of the Presbyterians in several of the counties for a simultaneous rising in arms; and, relying on the people's affection for the exiled King, a messenger was despatched to inform his Majesty of the project, which he thought so well planned, that he repaired secretly to Calais, and then to St. Malo's, in order that he might be near England if the plot succeeded. The scheme, however, owing to the treachery of Sir William Willis, was revealed to the Parliamentary Council of State, who immediately took precautions for the obstruction of the several apprehended risings, so that the only one at all successful was that under the charge of Sir George Booth for the seizing of Chester. This rising took place in August, when the Earl of Derby appeared at the head of a number of Lancashire men, in support of Sir George Booth in Cheshire. Chester being taken, Sir George published a manifesto against the tyranny of the Parliament,

* The manor of Bidston, a township in Cheshire, and the entire parish, were formerly part of the barony of Dunham Massey, and continued in the possession of the lords of Dunham for about a century and a half, when they came into possession of Henry, Duke of Lancaster, in the 9th Edward III. He afterwards gave them, with other lands, to Roger de Strange, Lord of Knockyn, in exchange for lands in Lincolnshire; and they continued in possession of this family until about the 21st Henry VI., when the manor of Bidston passed to the family of the Stanleys, Earls of Derby, who held them until 1653, when they were sold by Charlotte de la Tremouille, Countess of Derby, and her son Charles, Earl of Derby, to William Steele, Esq., a commissioner-at-law, by whom they were resold, in the reign of Charles II., to Lord Kingston, an Irish peer, and some years afterwards the property was again sold to Sir Robert Vyner, lord mayor of London. Bidston Hall stands on a commanding situation on a rock of yellow freestone, of which material it is built. The western front has bay windows and projecting gables, and the entrance is in the centre of the front, formed in a semicircular porch, which rises the entire height of the building. The eastern side corresponds with the western, but has in addition a piazza along the lower story. The front approach is through a square court, with a handsome gateway having a singular arch highly ornamented with the cognizances of the Derby family. In some intermediary purchase it is said Bidston Hall was won and lost at cards, to commemorate which a summer-house was built in the form of a club, as usually represented in that card, the foundations of which still remain in the picturesque grounds attached to the hall.—*Sec Mortimer's History of the Hundred of Wirral.*

omitting any mention of the King, intending to make the people believe that the people's discontent was the sole motive of this rising. The movement, however, being unsuccessful in other parts of the country, and the gaols being filled with the leaders and their followers, Lambert marched against the Royalists at Chester, who, with Sir Thomas Middleton's troops, were only from 4,000 to 5,000 strong, and with an overwhelming force retook Chester; and Sir George Booth, although he had the good fortune at first to escape, some days after was captured in women's clothes, and conveyed a prisoner to the Tower of London. The Earl of Derby was also taken prisoner, and attainted by the Parliament; but the Restoration of the King ensuing in the following year, 1660, the Earl again regained his liberty, and was reinstalled in his estates and his rights in the Isle of Man, and an act was passed in the 16th and 17th Charles II., entitled "An Act for restoring Sir Charles Stanley in blood;" but these appear to have been almost the only acts of justice he obtained from the King, who, notwithstanding the eminent services and losses of his worthy but unfortunate father on behalf of the late King and himself, and notwithstanding also the unparalleled heroism of his mother at Lathom and the Isle of Man, peremptorily refused the Royal assent to an act unanimously voted in both Houses of Parliament for restoring to Charles Earl of Derby the sequestered estates of his family.

After the Restoration, the Earl of Derby took up his residence at Knowsley, where he lived a quiet and almost private life; and had it not been for the ingratitude of the gay and licentious English Sovereign, he might have recovered a very considerable part of his possessions; but, notwithstanding his great discouragements and disadvantages, after the marriage of Lady Robert Stanley to the Earl of Lincoln, and the death of her younger son, James Stanley, by a strict economy and by some judicious sales* and purchases, the Earl succeeded in laying that foundation which eventually, in some degree, tended to restore the wealth of the family, and in which

* Earl Charles obtained an Act of Parliament to enable him to sell several manors, lands, and chief rents at Childwall, Little-Woolton, part of Dalton, and all Holland (Upholland); with the chief rents of many other manors and townships, whereby he raised a sum sufficient to purchase the Countess of Lincoln's annuity for life, and her second son James's annuity, from his surviving brother Charles, who was then entitled to the whole; and with the payment of all arrears, and securing to the said Charles the future payment of the whole £500 per annum, upon the manor of Lathom.—The Countess of Lincoln was aunt to Charles, Earl of Derby, her first husband being Sir Robert Stanley, K.B., third son of William, sixth Earl of Derby, by whom she had (besides Mary and Ferdinando, both of whom died in infancy) the two sons here mentioned, namely, Sir Charles Stanley and James Stanley, Esq., whose annuities were settled upon them by their grandfather, Earl William, by an indenture dated the 11th of August, in the thirteenth year of King Charles I.

success he received very great assistance from his excellent Countess, whose frugal and prudent management of her numerous family and the affairs under her immediate care made up any shortcomings in dowry, and thus she proved herself worthy of her noble husband's choice and affection. The Earl was appointed lord-lieutenant of Lancashire; and in 1667, he presented a silver mace to the newly-formed corporation of Liverpool, bearing "a *Leaver* embossed upon it."

Earl Charles is represented as having been a nobleman of great affability, courteous to all, a good master, and a kind and liberal landlord. He was also an author, his dialogue between "Orthodox" and "Cacodæmon," possessing, as a controversial piece, considerable tact and merit, and displaying an intimate acquaintance with the vexed questions of the day.*

By his Countess Earl Charles had issue nine sons and six daughters, namely:—1, James, born 19th April and died 21st August, 1651. 2, Henriette-Charlotte, born 2nd April, 1652, and married to Thomas, Viscount Colchester, having issue Helena-Maria, buried at Ormskirk, and Charlotte-Catherine-Savage (unmarried), and was buried at Ormskirk, February 10th, 1716. 3, Henry-Charles, born 15th April, 1653, and died in infancy. 4, Amelia, born 2nd April, 1654, and died December 19th, 1654. 5, William-Richard-George, Lord Strange, born at Lathom, on Sunday, 18th March, 1654-5, as the following interesting entry in the register at Ormskirk Parish Church shews—

1654.+ March 22. William Lord Strange, son of Charles Earl of Derby, born at Lathom upon Sunday, March 18th, baptised March 22, 1651—whom God prosper with long life, and Heaven at last, so God prayeth RICHARD GRICE—

and who succeeded his father and became the ninth Earl. 6, Robert-Thomas, born 10th April, 1656, and was killed in a duel by Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Grafton, 19th February, 1686, being unmarried. 7, Ferdinand, born June 22nd, and died November 5th, 1657. 8, Edward, born at Lathom, 6th July, 1658, died 6th February and was buried at Ormskirk on the 10th February, 1659. 9, Marie-Sophie, born at Lathom, 21st August, 1659, died unmarried in London, 18th July, and buried at Ormskirk, 29th July, 1674. 10, Charles, born in London, registered at Ormskirk 15th January, 1661, died in infancy, and buried at Ormskirk, 15th August, 1663. 11, Helena, who died an infant. 12, Catherine, buried at

* Earl James, too, it may be remarked, besides the letters and instructions addressed to his son Charles, Lord Strange, was also the author of *History and Antiquities of the Isle of Man*, contained in *Peck's Desiderata Curiosa*, which, though not completed according to the intention of the Earl, has formed the basis of all subsequent histories of the Isle of Man.

+ 1654-5—Old English style.

Ormskirk, 1st January, 1663. 13, James, born (as registered at Ormskirk) 3rd July, at Knowsley, and baptised there 14th July, 1664, and succeeded his brother William as the tenth Earl. 14, An infant, buried at Ormskirk, 26th June, 1665. 15, Charles-Zedenno, born 8th December, 1666, was M.P. for Preston 12th Queen Anne, and for the county from 1705 to 1710, and died unmarried 9th April, and was buried at Ormskirk, April 16th, 1715.

Earl Charles died at Knowsley, on the 21st December, 1672, aged 55, and was buried with his ancestors at Ormskirk. His Countess survived him twenty-nine years, and was buried at Ormskirk, April 16th, 1703.

WILLIAM-RICHARD-GEORGE, NINTH EARL OF DERBY,

and third son of Earl Charles, was only eighteen years of age when he succeeded to the earldom on the death of his father. Earl William married in July, 1673, the Lady Elizabeth Butler, first daughter of James the twelfth Earl and the first Duke of Ormonde, the ducal title and other honours being conferred upon the noble and gallant Cavalier by Charles II., as a reward for his sufferings and distinguished services during the Civil War on behalf of the Royal cause.* The Earl of Derby was appointed lord-lieutenant of Lancashire and Cheshire, and also of five Welsh counties. He is represented as being a nobleman of polite education, extensive information, and strong capacity, and with these accomplishments he displayed good sense and great generosity and affability of manners to all around him, and so gained for himself universal esteem. Notwithstanding, however, his natural endowments and varied accomplishments, he was decidedly opposed to taking any active part in the great affairs of the State, which, perhaps, may be attributed mainly to a consideration of the hard and unmerited sufferings of his grandfather, and the ingratitude experienced by his heroic grandmother and father, the remembrance of which, as Seacombe, his household steward, informs us, induced his lordship "to prefer a country retirement, as he frequently declared upon many occasions, before any honour or preferments at Court;" nor need there be any surprise at this choice on the part of the Earl, as the sad experiences of his family had produced anything but agreeable

* The Duke of Ormonde married his cousin, Lady Elizabeth Preston, Baroness Dingwall, and was father of the "gallant Earl of Ossington," who was summoned by writ to the Parliament of England in 1665, as Lord Butler, of More Park, and died before his father, in 1680, leaving by his wife, Lady Amelia Nassau, eldest daughter of Louis, Lord Beverwacot, son of Maurice, Prince of Orange.

results to their representative, who found the princely estates of his noble ancestors so disposed of, and allowed to be so disposed of by the reigning dynasty on whose behalf they had been sacrificed, that he was in possession of no estate in Lancashire, Cheshire, Westmoreland, Cumberland, Warwickshire, York, or Wales from which he could not see another of equal value lost by his grandfather for his loyalty to the Crown.

Earl William, true to his choice, led the life of a country gentleman, and appears to have patronised the pastimes then popular in the Isle of Man; and Sir Walter Scott, in a note to the eleventh chapter of his *Peveril of the Peak*, favours us with a "certified copy" of the rules on which that sport of horse-racing was conducted, under the permission of the Earl of Derby, in which it will be seen that a descendant of William Christian entered a horse for the prize. This curious document, for which Sir Walter Scott tells us he is indebted to his kind friend, the learned Dr. Dibdin, is as follows:—

INSULA } Articles for the plate which is to be run for in the said island, being of the
MONÆ. } value of five pounds sterling, (the fashion included,) given by the Right
Honourable William Earl of Derby, Lord of the said Isle, &c.

- 1st. The said plate is to be run for upon the 28th day of July, in every year, whiles his honour is pleased to allow the same, (being the day of the nativity of the Honourable James Lord Strange,) except it happen upon a Sunday, and if soe, the said plate is to be run for upon the day following.
- 2d. That noe horse, gelding, or mair, shall be admitted to run for the said plate, but such as was foaled within the said island, or in the Calfe of Mann.
- 3d. That every horse, gelding, or mair, that is designed to run, shall be entred at or before the viiiijth day of July, with his masters name and his owne, if he be generally knowne by any, or els his colour, and whether horse, mair, or gelding, and that to be done at the x comprs. office, by the cleark of the rolls for the time being.
- 4th. That every person that puts in either horse, mair, or gelding, shall, at the time of their entring, depositt the sume of five shill. apiece into the hands of the said clerk of the rolls, which is to goe towards the augmenting of the plate for the year following, besides one shill. apiece to be given by them to the said clerk of the rolls, for entering their names, and engrossing these articles.
- 5th. That every horse, mair, or gelding, shall carry horse-man's weight, that is to say, ten stone weight, at fourteen pounds to each stone, besides sadle and bridle.
- 6th. That every horse, mair, or gelding, shall have a person for its tryer, to be named by the owner of the said horse, mair, or gelding, which tryers are to have the command of the scales and weights, and to see that every rider doe carry full weight, according as is mentioned in the foregoing articles, and especially that the winning rider be soe with the usuall allowance of one pound for.
- 7th. That a person be assigned by the tryers to start the runninge horses, who are to run for the said plate, betwixt the howers of one and three of the clock in the afternoon.
- 8th. That every rider shall leave the two first powles which are set upp in Macybraes close, in this manner following, that is to say, the first of the said two powles upon his right hand, and the other upon his left hand; and the two powles by the rockes are to be left upon the left hand likewise; and the fifth powle, which is sett up at the lower end of the Conney-warren, to be left alsoe upon the left hand, and soe the turning powle next to Wm. Looreyes house to be left in like manner upon the left hand, and the other two powles, leading to the ending powle, to be left upon the right hand; all which powles are to be left by the riders as aforesaid, excepting only the distance-powle, which may be rid on either hand, at the discretion of the rider, &c., &c., &c.

July 14th, 1687.

The names of the persons who have entered their horses to run for the within plate for this present year, 1687.

Ro. Heywood, Esq. of this Isle, hath entered one bay-gelding, called by the name of Loggerhead, and hath depositt towards the augmenting of the plate for the next year,	L.00 05 00
Captain Tho. Hudlston hath entered one white gelding, called Snowball, and hath depositt,	00 05 00
Mr William Faigler hath entred his grey gelding, called the Gray Carraine, and depositt,	00 05 00

Mr Nicho. Williams hath entred one gray stone horse, called the Yorkshire gray, and deposited,.....	00 05 00
Mr. Demster Christian hath entered one gelding, called the Dapplegray, and hath depositted,.....	00 05 00
	28th July, 1687.

MEMORANDUM,

That this day the above plate was run for by the forementioned horse, and the same fairly won by the right worshipful governor's horse at the two first heates.

17th August, 1688.

Received this day the above , which I am to pay to my master to augment ye plate, by me,

JOHN WOOD.

It is my good-will and pleasure yt ye 2 prizes formerly granted (by me) for hors runing and shouting, shall continue as they did, to be run, or shot for, and soe to continue dureing my good-will and pleasure. Given under my hand at Lathom ye 12th of July, 1669.

DERBY.

To my governor's deputy-governor, and ye rest of my officers in my Isle of Man.

It does not appear that Earl William took that personal interest in the government of his Manx domain that might have been expected ; but his appointment of Dr. Wilson to the bishopric of Sodor and Man must ever command the approval and the gratitude of the Manx people, whose interests, as well as those of Earl William, were greatly promoted by his sound wisdom, practical counsel, and exemplary piety and courage, and his Christian bearing and labour in the government of the Church.

Dr. Thomas Wilson was born at Burton, near Neston, in Cheshire, in 1663, and graduated at Trinity College, Dublin, where he remained till 1689, when he was ordained, and afterwards licensed curate of New Church, in the parish of Winwick, Lancashire, his maternal uncle, Dr. Sherlock, being then rector ; and we are told that there, out of a stipend of £30 a-year, Mr. Wilson devoted one-tenth of his income to charitable purposes. In October, 1690, he was ordained priest, and he was not long before his religious deportment and amiable manners in private life commended him to William, Earl of Derby, who, in 1692, appointed him his lordship's domestic chaplain and tutor to his son James, Lord Strange, with a salary of £30 a-year, and afterwards made him almoner of Lathom at £20 a-year more ; and sometime after this the Earl of Derby offered him the valuable living of Baddesworth, in Yorkshire, the Earl intending that he should still continue chaplain and tutor to his son ; but this latter appointment Mr. Wilson declined to accept, being inconsistent with his resolution and opinions on the question of non-residence. Whilst at Knowsley, Mr. Wilson appears to have taken great pains with his noble pupil, whose want of consideration and precipitancy of temper he endeavoured to correct. On one occasion, as Lord Strange was going to sign his name to a paper which he had not read, Mr. Wilson dropped some burning sealing-wax on his finger ; the sudden pain

made the noble pupil very angry, but his accomplished tutor soon pacified him by observing that he did it to impress a lasting remembrance on his mind never to sign or seal any paper he had not first read and attentively examined.

It is observed that the dictates of conscience influenced the whole of Mr. Wilson's pious career ; and as a proof of this observation, as well as of his noble patron's good sense and accessible demeanour, one circumstance out of many may be noticed, particularly as it is intimately connected with the affairs of the Earl of Derby. In consequence of a somewhat extravagant expenditure, and the absence of personal supervision of his affairs and accounts, Lord Derby had become deeply involved, and many of the tradesmen about his lordship's estates had become thereby seriously embarrassed ; when Mr. Wilson, witnessing with equal concern the ruin of his patron's property and the distress of his dependants, determined to venture a respectful remonstrance, although he felt fully sensible that such a step was fraught with danger to his hopes of preferment ; yet, being unable to shirk what he considered to be a duty, he waited upon the Earl in his dressing-room, and, after a short conversation, left with him a letter, calling his lordship's attention to the prevailing state of things, in which he states, "Severall in the neighbourhood are undone if they are not speedily considered ; they are forc'd to the last necessity, some to sell their estates, and others ready to leave the country, or to lye in gaol for debts which are owing to them from your lordship. They come every day with teares and petitions, which nobody takes notice of, and so your lordship never comes to know what they suffer and complain of." The Earl, convinced of his chaplain's probity and good intentions, was aroused to a serious investigation of his affairs, and received from his faithful and conscientious chaplain the most willing assistance, and, by the measures adopted, the reputation and property of the Earl was preserved, and his creditors, some of whom had no legal or honest claim, were saved from bankruptcy ; nor did the faithful chaplain, Mr. Wilson, miss his reward, for although at first he declined the prelacy of the Isle of Man, yet, in 1698, the King having declared to the Earl, who was at that time Master of the Horse, that if his lordship did not fill up the see, which had been so long time vacant, he would do so himself, and thus, to use his own expression, he was by the Earl "forced into the bishopric,"* which had been vacant since 1693, and

* In the Bishop's *Sacra Privata* occurs the following memorandum, "Forced to accept the Bishoprick of Man, Nov. 27, 1697."

which he held for upwards of fifty-seven years, having at the time of his death, March 5th, 1755, attained the patriarchal age of 93 years, and long enjoyed the universal esteem of the Christian world. Long before his death he had provided his own coffin, made from an elm tree he planted soon after his going to the island, which was cut down and sawed into planks for that purpose a few years before his death. He died on the anniversary of his wife's death, which took place precisely half a century before his own.

Besides other improvements on his Lancashire estates, Earl William erected a new south front to Lathom House, but did not live to complete the whole of the work.

Earl William died November 5th, 1702, at Chester, being then mayor and chamberlain of that city, and his remains were interred in the family vault at Ormskirk, on the 4th of January, 1703.

Before passing on to notice the illustrious personage who became the tenth Earl of Derby, it must be observed that Earl William-Richard-George by his Countess had issue, four sons and four daughters:—1, a son, stillborn, 12th April, 1679. 2, James, Lord Strange, born 28th July, 1680, who died unmarried 28th September, 1699. Dr. Leigh, in his *Natural History of Lancashire, &c.*, published in 1700, pays the following tribute to the memory of James, Lord Strange, the pupil of Bishop Wilson:—"This young nobleman, in the ripening bloom of his years, had all the marks of a sweet temper, real honour, and solid judgment, that in those days could possibly be expected; but to the unspeakable loss of his parents, and the universal sorrow of the whole country, he unfortunately died the last year (1699) at Venice, of the small-pox, in the course of his travels." The remains of the youthful nobleman were brought over to England, and buried with those of his ancestors in the Derby Vault at Ormskirk. 3, Elizabeth, born 19th November, 1681, died 30th July, 1682, and buried at Ormskirk. 4, William, born 24th August, 1683, died 5th April, 1684, and buried at Ormskirk. 5, Thomas, born 21st April, 1685, died in April, and was buried at Ormskirk, on the 20th April, 1687. 6, Henriette-Maria, born 10th January, 1686-7, and was married, first, May 21st, 1706, to John Annesley, fourth Earl of Anglesey, who died on the 18th of September, 1710, and was buried at Farnborough, the issue by this union being an only daughter, Elizabeth, born in May, 1710, and died before the Earl; and for her second husband the Countess Dowager of Anglesey,

on the 24th July, 1714, was married to John, third Lord Ashburnham,* who was created Earl 14th May, 1730; and by this marriage was transferred to Lord Ashburnham Lathom House, with the estate belonging thereto, which was afterwards sold to Mr. Henry Furnese, from whom it passed by purchase, in 1724, to Sir Thomas Bootle, Knight, of Melling, whose niece and heiress, Mary, daughter and sole heiress of Robert Bootle, Esq., of Lathom House, married Richard Wilbraham, Esq., of Rode, M.P. for Chester, and great grandfather of the present Lord Skelmersdale: The issue of Lord and Lady Ashburnham was an only daughter, Henrietta-Bridget, who died unmarried on the 8th of August, 1732. Lady Ashburnham died on the 26th of June, 1718, being only thirty-one years of age, and the Earl Ashburnham died on the 10th of March, 1736-7. 7, a daughter, stillborn, 13th December, 1691. 8, Elizabeth, born 16th April, 1697, and died unmarried on the 24th April, 1714, in the eighteenth year of her age.

Earl William-Richard-George having died without surviving male issue, the barony of Strange, by writ of 1628, fell into abeyance between his two surviving daughters and co-heiresses, the Lady Henrietta-Maria (afterwards Lady Ashburnham) and the Lady Elizabeth, the latter of whom, and also the Lady Henrietta-Bridget (only daughter of Lord and Lady Ashburnham) died, as already stated, unmarried, consequently the barony of Strange reverted to their uncle James, to whom the honours of the earldom of Derby had also devolved.

JAMES, TENTH EARL OF DERBY,

was the eighth son of Earl Charles, being named after his grandfather who was beheaded at Bolton, and succeeded to the earldom on the death of his brother, Earl William-Richard-George, in 1702. The early predilections of Earl James were of a military cast, and appear to have been fully gratified, for, we are told, he was bred up in martial discipline by William Prince of Orange, afterwards King William III. of England, "of glorious and immortal memory," with whom he served several campaigns in Flanders, and experienced

* The Ashburnhams (so denominanted from the town of that name in Sussex, formerly written Esseburnham) are, according to Fuller, "a family of stupendous antiquity, wherein the eminence hath equalled the antiquity, having been barons temp. Henry III.;" and Francis Thynn, Esq., in his catalogue of Lord Wardens of the Cinque Ports, and Constables of Dover Castle, thus mentions one of the early progenitors:—"Bertram Ashburnham, a baron of Kent, was constable of Dover Castle, A.D. 1066; which Bertram was beheaded by William the Conqueror because he did so valiantly defend the same against the Duke of Normandy."

active service in Ireland. In the several battles in which he was engaged, Brigadier Stanley (this being the name by which he was then familiarly known) prominently distinguished himself for courage and military ability, and was graced with a full share of military honours, having received many serious wounds, and being twice carried off the field supposed to be in a dying state. For his many distinguished services he enjoyed the esteem and special favour of William III., who appointed him a groom of the bedchamber, and he was almost constantly in attendance at Court during the reign of that illustrious monarch. He served in the Convention Parliament at the revolution in 1688, as member for Preston; and from 1695, until his succession to the peerage, he was M.P. for Lancashire. On the 10th of June, 1706, the noble and gallant Earl was constituted, by Queen Anne, chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, which office he resigned in 1710; and he was also appointed lord-lieutenant of the county of Lancaster, and chamberlain of the city and county palatine of Chester. On the 23rd of September, 1715, he was appointed, by King George I., captain of the Yeomanry of the Guards, which office he also resigned in 1723. In 1734 he was elected mayor of Liverpool, on which occasion he gave a splendid entertainment at his Castle in Water-street, and in 1735, during his mayoralty, with the consent of the bailiffs, he called the burgesses together and opened a common hall, for the purpose of affording to the burgesses an opportunity of asserting their rights and putting their will in force, as expressed in bye-laws enacted at previous common halls, and intended as a check upon the select body or common-council, or corporation. Earl James was the last mayor of Liverpool of the Stanley family; and it is worthy of remark that James, Lord Strange, afterwards the seventh Earl of Derby, was the first mayor of Liverpool, under the charter granted in the second year of the reign of Charles I., on the 4th July (1626), making the burgesses of Liverpool a corporate body under the designation of "the Mayor, Bailiffs, and Burgesses of Liverpool."

Earl James, besides being an accomplished soldier and politician, was a liberal patron of the fine arts; and it was at his cost that Knowsley Hall can boast of its choice collection of paintings from the Italian and Flemish schools, selected abroad by Hamlet Winstanley, a native artist, who was commissioned by the Earl of Derby to collect the same. On succeeding to the earldom, Earl James commenced to rebuild

Knowsley Hall, which he completed in a becoming style of grandeur and extent, and adopted it as his principal seat, the chief portion of which, as it now stands, having been erected by him, as the interesting historical inscription (which will be subsequently noticed) on the south front testifies, as well as perpetuates the remembrance of the ingratitude of Charles II. towards the Derby family.

The Countess of Earl James was Mary, daughter and heiress of Sir William Morley, K.B., of Halnaker, in the county of Sussex, born 8th September. By his marriage the Earl of Derby succeeded to an ample estate; and had issue an only son, William, Lord Strange, born 31st January, 1709-10, but died 4th March following, from inoculation for small-pox.

Earl James died at Knowsley, on the 1st of February, 1735-6, in the seventy-second year of his age, and was buried in the family vault at Ormskirk. His Countess survived him till the year 1752, when she died at Chichester on the 20th of February, and was interred at Boxgrove.

On the death of Earl James without male issue, the male descendants of Thomas, the second Earl of Derby, eldest son of George Lord Stanley and Strange, eldest son of Thomas, the second Lord Stanley and first Earl of Derby of his family (created earl by Henry VII., the son of Margaret of Lancaster, Countess of Richmond and Derby) became extinct; and the barony of Strange and the sovereignty of the Isle of Man* being claimed by, now passed to the heir general, James Murray, second Duke of Athol, the maternal great grandson of James, seventh Earl of Derby, his grandmother being the Lady Amelia-Anna-Sophia Stanley, the fourth and youngest daughter of James the seventh Earl, who married John Murray, second Earl of Athol, whose descendant, James Murray, second Duke of Athol, now became, by the extinction of the descendants of all the other children, the sole heir of his great grandfather, James, seventh Earl of Derby; but the title and honours of the earldom of Derby devolved upon the next male heir, Sir Edward Stanley, Bart., of Bickerstaffe.

In 1765, an act of Parliament was passed for the purchasing of the Isle of Man by a contract between the Lords of the

* At page 22, it will be found that the acquisition of the Isle of Man by the Stanleys dates from Henry IV., who, according to an ancient historical Manx ballad, said to Sir John Stanley—

“Because thou hast served me well,
And gained booty for me and thyself,
Take to thy portion the Isle of Man,
To be for thee and thine for ever.”

Admiralty and the third Duke and Duchess of Athol;* and the sum of £70,000 was paid for all the interest and privileges of the island; reserving, however, to the Athol family the landed property, with all their rights in and over the soil, with courts baron, rents, services, and other privileges, together with the patronage of the bishopric,† and other ecclesiastical benefices in the island, on payment of £101 15s. 11d. per annum, and rendering two falcons to the succeeding kings and queens of England, on the days of their respective coronations; but, in 1806, the sovereignty of the island was sold by John, the fourth Duke of Athol, to the English government for the British Crown; and, in 1826, on receiving from the English government the further sum of £416,000, all remaining reserved privileges were surrendered by the Duke of Athol.

THE STANLEYS OF BICKERSTAFFE.

EDWARD, ELEVENTH EARL OF DERBY.

Sir Edward Stanley, Bart., of Bickerstaffe Hall, Bickerstaffe, near Ormskirk, the fifth Baronet of the Stanleys of Bickerstaffe, and the eleventh Earl of Derby, like the previous Earls of Derby of the Stanley family, was paternally descended from Sir John Stanley, who married Isabel of Lathom, and from his descendant, Thomas Stanley, the first Earl of Derby; and also, like them, was maternally descended from the Princess Elizabeth Plantagenet, daughter of King Edward I.,‡ who married for her second husband Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, by whom she had three sons and two daughters, the third son being William, Earl of Northampton, whose daughter Elizabeth married Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, and was mother of Elizabeth Fitzalan, who married William de Montecute, first Earl of Salisbury of his family, and was grandmother of John, the unfortunate third Earl of Salisbury, whose son was Thomas de Montecute, the fourth Earl of Salisbury, who left by his first wife, the Lady Eleanor Plantagenet, daughter of Thomas, and sister and

* The Duke and Duchess of Athol were cousins, the Duchess, Charlotte, Baroness Strange, being the only child of James, second Duke of Athol, who married her cousin, John Murray, third Duke of Athol, who, by the decision of the House of Lords, succeeded his uncle in the dukedom of Athol, and *jure uxoris*, to the barony of Strange and the sovereignty of the Isle of Man.

† The whole island is now under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of a bishop, who is styled "Bishop of Sodor and Man," who is, also, sole baron of the island, and possesses several other important privileges.

‡ The Queen of Edward I., and the mother of the Princess Elizabeth, was Eleanor, the daughter of Ferdinand III., King of Castile. Whilst Edward was in the Holy Land, he was stabbed by an assassin with a poisoned dagger, when the Princess Eleanor of Castile saved his life by sucking the poison from the wound.

co-heir of Edmund, Earl of Kent, an only daughter and heiress, Alice de Montecute, who became the wife of Richard Neville, first Earl of Salisbury of his family, and whose daughter, Eleanor, sister of Richard Neville (the King-maker), the renowned Earl of Warwick, was the first wife of Thomas, the second Baron Stanley of Lathom, and the first Earl of Derby of the Stanley family.

The eldest son of Thomas, the first Earl of Derby, by his first wife, Eleanor, as previously noticed, was George, Lord Strange, who was retained by Richard III. as a pledge for the fidelity of his father in the battle of Bosworth. George, Lord Strange, it will be remembered, married Jane, daughter and heiress of John, eighth Lord Strange, of Knockyn, by whom he had three sons, Thomas, John, and James. George, ninth Lord Strange, died before his father, the first Earl of Derby, on the 5th December, 1497, consequently his eldest son, Thomas, succeeded to the earldom as second Earl, whose male heir descendants also succeeded to the earldom of Derby until the male heirs of this (the first) branch of the Derby family became extinct on the death of James the tenth Earl.

John, the second son of Lord Strange, died young and unmarried; and therefore

Sir James, the third son, Knight of Cross Hall, and marshal of Ireland, who was seated at Cross Hall, Lathom, near Ormskirk, became the progenitor of the second branch of the Stanleys, Earls of Derby. Sir James married Anne, the widow of Sir Edmund Talbot, of Bashall, sister of Sir Percival Hart, Knight of Lullingstone, and daughter of John Hart, Esq., of Lullingstone Castle, in the county of Kent, by his wife Elizabeth, sister and heiress of Sir John Peche, and daughter of Sir William Peche, Knight of Lullingstone, descended from Gilbert de Peche, who was summoned to Parliament as a peer of the realm, 13 King Edward II. Sir James by his lady had issue, eight children, namely:—1, Thomas, *juris-consultus*; 2, Edward, slain at Musselburgh, Scotland; 3, George; 4, Anne, married to Ralph Rushton, Esq., of Duckinhalgh; 5, Margaret, who became the wife of Edward Stanley, Esq., of Flint; 6, Jane; 7, Eleanor, married to Gilbert Langtree, Esq., of Langtree; 8, Henry.—Thomas and Edward dying *sine prole*, Sir James was succeeded by his third son,

Sir George Stanley, Knight of Cross Hall, marshal of Ireland (commonly designated the Black Knight Marshal of Ireland), and Captain of the Isle of Man. Sir George is

represented as having been a most martial and valiant man in the field, and a wise counsellor : his boldness and resolution in action were not to be withstood ; and he was an utter enemy to the rebellious Irish, insomuch that his name was a terror to them, and where he engaged them their cry was *Pagh Chrish saave me cramochree*, by which they meant, "O Christ, save me for the love of my heart." Having fully reduced the rebellion in Ireland, he was greatly honoured and esteemed by the King ; and, for his bravery and important services, the King conferred upon him the office of knight-marshal of Ireland. Sir George married Isabel, daughter of Sir John Duckinfield, of Duckinfield, Cheshire, by whom he had issue, two sons and two daughters, namely :—Edward and Henry,* both of whom died before their father, and without issue ; Mary, who became the wife of Robert, son and heir of Sir Thomas Hesketh of Rufford, and sheriff of Lancashire in 1600 and 1608 ; and Agnes.—The sons of Sir George dying *sine prole*, he was succeeded by his youngest, and only surviving brother,

Henry Stanley, Esq., of Aughton, and, *jure uxoris*, of Bickerstaffe, born in 1515, to whom the Cross Hall estate also now passed. This gentleman married, on the 26th of September, 1563, Margaret, only child and heiress of Peter Stanley, Esq.,† of Aughton (who bore the great standard in the funeral procession of Earl Edward, and was third son of Sir William Stanley, of Hooton), by his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of James Scarisbrick, Esq., by Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Atherton, Esq., of Bickerstaffe, through whom the manor of Bickerstaffe passed to the Stanley family. This Mr. Henry Stanley (the elder) was comptroller of the household to Edward the third Earl of Derby, and he rode in the funeral procession of that nobleman, bearing his staff of office. According to the Sloane MS. 874, he was muster master for the county, purchased arms for the trained soldiers, and had the charge of the beacons in Lancashire ; and Sir Richard

* This gentleman was a frequent guest at Lathom and Knowsley in the time of Earls Edward and Henry, where he was familiarly known as "Mr. Stanley the younger," to distinguish him from his uncle, Henry Stanley, Esq., of Aughton.

† Seacombe has it, that Peter Stanley, Esq., had six children, namely, Thomas, James, Robert, Edward, Bridget, and Mary by his wife *Elizabeth*, and that he was "an eminent Royalist and joined his interest and force with that of his noble relative, James Earl of Derby," as already noticed ; but it appears that Margaret, the wife of Henry Stanley, the elder, was the only daughter of Peter Stanley, Esq., by his first wife, Elizabeth Scarisbrick, and that the six children, whose names are stated, were by a second marriage. If, as Seacombe says, Peter Stanley, Esq., survived till 1652, he could not have been less than 145 years of age, as his son-in-law, Henry Stanley, according to the Family Pedigree, was born in 1515, and his daughter Margaret, by his first wife, in or about 1525, if in 1582 she was 57 years of age. The Peter Stanley noticed by Seacombe as "an eminent Royalist" must have been the grandson of Peter Stanley, Esq., of Moor Hall, Aughton. As Seacombe's statement has been adopted in a previous notice of Peter Stanley, this caution is necessary.—See page 11.

Sherburne and Sir John Byron disbursed his official accounts by warrant from Henry Earl of Derby. Amongst the family portraits at Knowsley are two sombre and inartistic portraits, on panel, of this Mr. Stanley, the elder, and his wife. The venerable gentleman wears a velvet cap and ruff, is habited in a plain dark dress, and has a prominent patriarchal beard. On the background is inscribed, "A° 1582, æt. suæ. 67," but apparently more aged, looking, indeed, as Canon Raines remarks, "like Wordsworth's old Thorn—so old that you could hardly believe he had ever been young." His wife is also habited in a dark dress, and wears an enormous ruff and three chains of gold round her neck, the inscription being "A° 1582, æt. suæ. 57." Henry Stanley, Esq., died in 1591, aged 83, and had a most magnificent and imposing funeral, which was solemnized at Ormskirk (the Bickerstaffe Chapel at the north side of the Church being the family burial place of the Stanleys of Bickerstaffe and Aughton) with all the gloomy pomp and pageantry of woe, almost rivalling in grandeur and solemnity the funeral of Earl Edward, the Bountiful, in 1572, in the same venerable edifice. He left issue, Edward, James, and Jane, the latter of whom became the wife of Gabriel Hesketh, Esq., of Aughton, upon whom was settled in remainder by will, dated 1595, a moiety of the large estates of his grandfather, Sir John Southworth, of Southworth and Salmesbury, knight, whose daughter Margaret married Bartholomew Hesketh, Esq., of Aughton (a cadet of the Rufford House). This Bartholomew Hesketh, whose son Gabriel (called after his grandfather) married Jane Stanley, of Aughton, was the son and heir of Gabriel Hesketh, of Aughton, whose second son was Sir Thomas Heskett or Hesketh, of Whitehill, in Lancashire, and of Haslington, near York. This Sir Thomas Hesketh was bencher and reader of Gray's Inn, London, in 1588, and was recorder of Lancaster and M.P. for that borough in 1597, attorney of the Court of Wards of Liveries to Queen Elizabeth and James I., and was knighted in 1603. In Westminster Abbey, against the screen of the choir, there is a fine old monument to his memory, whereon lies the effigy of a gentleman at full length in a tufted gown, and underneath, upon the base, was a lady kneeling, which figures represent Sir Thomas and Julien, his wife, the latter of whom caused the monument to be erected. Sir Thomas died October 15th, 1605, *sine prole*, and devised his property to his brother Cuthbert.—Henry Stanley, Esq., was succeeded by his eldest son,

Sir Edward Stanley, Bart., created first Baronet of Bickerstaffe, June 26th, 1627. Sir Edward married, first, Katherine, second daughter of Sir Randal Mainwaring, Knight of Over-Peover, Cheshire, by whom he had three daughters, Anne, Elizabeth, and Frances; and he espoused, secondly, Isabel, daughter of Sir Peter Warburton, Knight of Arley, by whom he had six sons, namely:—1, Thomas, his heir, christened at Ormskirk, 22nd October, 1616. 2, Henry, christened at Ormskirk, 3rd September, 1617, married to Mary, daughter of Hamlet Cooper, Esq., of Bickerstaffe, and was father of Edward Stanley, Esq., of Preston, Lancashire, who died in 1755, aged 103 years, having had six sons, of whom the youngest, Charles Stanley (registered at Preston, 16th September, 1702) was possessed, *jure uxoris*, of Balla Caigan, &c., Isle of Man, and had four sons, the three youngest of whom died unmarried, but the eldest, Charles, born 3rd April, 1745, heir at length to the Manx property, which he afterwards parted with, left one son, the Rev. James Stanley, born 30th October, 1768, and was brought up by Edward, twelfth Earl of Derby, and was vicar of Ormskirk from 1800 to 1812, and became, in the course of events, the representative of Henry Stanley, Esq., his progenitor, second son of Sir Edward, first Baronet of Bickerstaffe. The Rev. James Stanley married, July 11th, 1797, Sarah, daughter of John Edleston, Esq., and was buried at Ormskirk, June 17th, 1812, leaving issue, 1, Edward, captain R.N., born 10th May, 1798, who, in 1839, was presented with a splendid sword by the mercantile community of Singapore, as an acknowledgment for his services in the suppression of piracy in the Straits of Malacca; 2, Frederick, lieutenant R.N., born 10th May, 1799, who was lost in H.M. sloop Drake, at St. Shalts, Newfoundland, in June, 1822; 3, Henry, born September 11th, 1800; 4, Charles, born 28th September, 1806; 5, Jane, married 19th December, 1825, to Richard-Bayly Bowden, Esq., lieutenant R.N.; 6, Caroline, married July 28th, 1827, to Henry Robert Crozier, Esq.—The other four sons of Sir Edward, the first Baronet, by his second wife, Isabel, were, James, the third son, christened at Ormskirk, 3rd March, and buried at Ormskirk, 28th May, 1618; Robert, the fourth son, christened 6th September, 1620, at Ormskirk; John, the 5th son, christened at Ormskirk, 19th December, 1621; and Francis, the sixth son, christened the 5th December, 1622, at Ormskirk.—Sir Edward (first Baronet) died in 1640, and was buried at Ormskirk, on the 4th May, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

Sir Thomas Stanley, second Baronet of Bickerstaffe. Sir Thomas* married Mary, daughter of Peter Egerton, Esq., of Shaw, Lancashire, and widow of Henry Houghton, Esq., of Brimscolls, by whom he had two sons and two daughters:—1, Edward, his successor, born 1643; 2, Elizabeth, died unmarried; 3, Mary, married to John Bradshaw, Esq., of Pennington; 4, Peter, progenitor of the present proprietor of Cross Hall, Edward Stanley, Esq., head of the first collateral branch of the house of Derby, which remains to be noticed.—Sir Thomas Stanley died in May, 1653, and was buried at Ormskirk, being succeeded by his eldest son,

Sir Edward Stanley, third Baronet, who married, at Ormskirk, December 25th, 1664, Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Bosville, Esq., of Warmsworth, Yorkshire, by whom he had a son and four daughters:—1, Thomas, his heir, christened at Ormskirk, 27th September, 1670; 2, Mary, born 1665, and buried at Ormskirk, 12th June, 1719, unmarried; 3, Elizabeth, born in 1666, and buried at Ormskirk, 3rd June, 1669; 4, Barbara, christened at Ormskirk, 24th March, 1667, and became the wife of the Rev. Zachary Taylor; 5, Elizabeth, born in 1671, and died unmarried, at Knowsley, aged sixty-seven, and buried at Ormskirk, 28th April, 1738.—Sir Edward died of fever, and was buried at Ormskirk, 14th October, 1671, being survived by his lady till 1695, who was also buried at Ormskirk, on the 1st June. It was to witness the funeral of this Sir Edward Stanley, that Nathaniel Heywood, the ejected vicar of Ormskirk,† whilst indisposed by sickness, was helped

* In 1642, Sir Thomas was found on the side of the Parliament, and commanded the militia, with Holcroft and Birch, at Manchester, where, it is said, he fired at Lord Strange (James, seventh Earl of Derby) from a window, but missed him. He was also appointed, with his father-in-law, one of the committee of sequestrators for Lancashire, but does not appear to have been a very active member.—See *Ormerod's Civil War Tracts*.

† Nathaniel Heywood was brother of the pious Nonconformist, Oliver Heywood, who suffered persecution at the hands of the Cromwellians, for refusing to give thanks to God for the defeat of the Royalists at Preston; and who, on the restoration of Charles II. to the British throne, thus expresses himself:—"Lift up thine eyes, my soul, and behold the face of things abroad. After a dark and gloomy winter comes a heart-reviving spring. What a change has been effected in half a year! Surely there is a gracious, moving wheel of Providence in all these vicissitudes. Usurpers have had the seat of jurisdiction, have held the reins in their hands, and driven on furiously these twelve years. They commanded a toleration of all but truly tender consciences, cast off parliaments of their own appointing at their pleasure, and threatened sequestration for all who would not fall down and worship the golden image of their invention. They turned out our nobles, made our illustrious kingdom a confused commonwealth, an imaginary free state, while they deprived the people of their native privilege of electing their own members to sit in Parliament."—Mr. Nathaniel Heywood was born at Little Lever, in the parish of Bolton-le-Moors, Lancashire, and was baptised at the Parish Church, September 16th, 1683. On the 4th May, 1648, he was admitted into Trinity College, Cambridge; and after taking his degree he went to London. In course of time he married Miss Elizabeth Parr, a relative to Dr. Parr, Bishop of the Isle of Man. Soon after his marriage, he was appointed curate of Ilkington, in the parish of Halifax, Yorkshire, where he continued three or four years, and, as already stated, at page 242, in 1656, he was appointed to the vicarage of Ormskirk by Charlotte de la Tremouille, Countess Dowager of Derby, succeeding the Rev. John Brixop. The income of the vicarage at that time was very small, not more than £20 a year, but there was an exhibition of £50 a year "granted by Queen Elizabeth for an itinerant preacher," and which had long been enjoyed by the vicars of Ormskirk—the vicar of Ormskirk, for the time, being one of the four King's preachers amongst whom £200 a year was

to the window, to see the funeral pass by to the church; and it was this Lady Stanley who personally opposed the seizing of Nathaniel Heywood in the Bickerstaffe Chapel, adjoining

divided. After the restoration of Charles II., however, one Mr. Stanninghaugh, the rector of the adjoining parish of Aughton, although receiving £148 a year, rode up to London, and, by the help of his friends, surreptitiously obtained the £50 as King's preacher settled upon himself, which circumstance caused some people to reflect on a sermon previously preached by Mr. Heywood at Ormskirk Church, on a day of thanksgiving for the King's restoration, from 2 Sam. xix., 20,—“And Mephibosheth said unto the King, yea, let them take all, for as much as my lord the King is come again in peace unto his own house.” Notwithstanding the loss of his £50 a year as King's preacher, Mr. Heywood managed to support his family of nine children in great decorum, besides ministering of his limited means to the wants of others. On the 24th August, 1662, Mr. Heywood, and many others, allowed themselves to be deprived of their livings, because their consciences would not allow them to subscribe to the Act of Uniformity, passed by the Lords and Commons, which offered to every Non-conformist minister within the Church of England that if on or before August 24th, 1662 (St. Bartholomew's Day) he received episcopal ordination, declared his assent and consent to all and every thing prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, and abjured the league and covenant, he might continue to hold his living, but otherwise, he must depart from it, being allowed three months' notice for deliberation,—certainly a hard measure, and much to be deplored for the sake of many good men such as the Heywoods, Baxter, and many others; yet merciful, compared with the treatment which many of the 8,000 ejected ministers of the Church of England had experienced at the hands of the Cromwellian and Puritan fanatical elders, who did not allow their predecessors so many hours, and some of whom now persuaded others not to conform, but conformed themselves, to retail their own or get the better livings of others, nearly the whole of whom had got into and been enjoying church livings they had never any legal or just right to hold or enjoy, many of them being laymen, never educated for the ministry. It is pleasing to know, however, that Mr. Heywood was not of this class, his refusal to conform was purely a matter of conscience. Mr. Heywood continued his public ministrations at Ormskirk until the appointment of his successor, the Rev. John Ashworth; and, in 1672, on the King's licence to preach being issued, Mr. Heywood, we are told, cordially embraced it, and had two chapels licensed, one adjoining Bickerstaffe Old Hall, then the seat of Sir Edward Stanley, and the other near Hurlston-green, in Scarisbrick, where he preached for about two years, when more trouble and opposition awaited his ministerial employments, warrants being issued for his apprehension, and which was effected while he was in the pulpit at Bickerstaffe Chapel, although Lady Stanley interposed and did all she could to prevent the officers laying hands upon him. Whilst taking Mr. Heywood towards Wigan the people rescued him, and several persons became surety for his appearance at the Wigan sessions; where he surrendered at the proper time, attended by Lady Stanley, who, with others, came to mediate for him, and gained his liberty. After this Mr. Heywood continued to preach and pray as often as circumstances and health permitted. He died on Sunday morning, December 16th, 1677, and was buried, by the consent and desire of the Stanley family, in the Bickerstaffe chancel at Ormskirk Church, on Wednesday, the 19th of December, on which occasion the Rev. Mr. Starkey, a Nonconformist minister, was permitted to preach a sermon, taking for his text, Col. iii., 4, “When Christ who is our life shall appear, then shall ye also appear with him in glory.” All the people in the town did honour to the remains of the deceased: “Mr. Constable, the chief officer in the town, of considerable authority, carried the staff (like a mace) before the corpse and the rest walked in due and decent order.”—See *Life of Rev. Nathaniel Heywood* in Works of Oliver Heywood.—Connected with the illustrious name of Charlotte de la Tremouille, Countess of Derby, and that of the pious Nathaniel Heywood, mention may be made of an interesting relic in the Parish Church of Ormskirk, that being an old stone font, supposed by some to have been presented to the Church by the Countess of Derby in 1661, a presumption quite plausible and acceptable, as one side of the font bears the crest of the Stanley family, and the stone appears to have been hewn from the “Round O Quarry,” in Lathom. This font was first used by the Rev. Nathaniel Heywood, as the following entry in the baptismal register records: “2 January 1661. Elizabeth Grise fil: William de Ormsk: Bapt. Being ye First in ye new Font p. Nath. Heywood.” For a great number of years the font occupied various positions in and about the church, at one time being placed under a spout to receive the downfall and at another time being the companion of rubbish, having been removed from the baptistery about 90 years ago, and supplanted by a marble basin, the gift of the Rev. William Knowles, M.A., vicar of the parish. Last year the old font underwent a complete and careful renovation, at the expense of William Welsby, Esq., to whose munificence we are also indebted for the new window in the baptistery of the church. The font, which was last year (1863) restored to its proper place in the baptistery, is hexagonal, having on one side the date of its original erection, “1661;” on another a Latin cross, on a calvary of three steps; then a St. Andrew's cross; next a Royal Crown with the initials “C. R.” being those of Charles II.; then the Stanley crest—the Eagle and Child; and on the sixth side the representation of an hour glass. In 1859, John Pemberton Heywood, Esq., the eminent banker of Liverpool, and a lineal descendant of the Rev. Nathaniel Heywood, in response to an appeal from Mr. Richard Bromley, then churchwarden of Ormskirk, gave the present east window of the church, as a memorial to his ancestor—the subject being “The Ascension.”

the Hall, and afterwards mediated for him at Wigan ; and it was also this Lady Stanley who succoured many of the Presbyterians and Quakers, and not the Countess Charlotte de la Tremouille, who is sometimes taken for Lady Stanley of Bickerstaffe. Sir Edward was succeeded by his son,

Sir Thomas Stanley, Bart. (the fourth Baronet), who married, 16th August, 1688, Elizabeth, only daughter and heiress of Thomas Patten, Esq., of Preston, M.P., by whom he had issue :—1, Sir Edward, his heir ; 2, Thomas, born 1690-1, and died 1693 ; 3, John, born 1692, in holy orders, D.D., rector of Liverpool, Bury, and Winwick, and married, first, Alice, daughter of Edward Warren, Esq., and secondly, Miss Sarah Earle, of Liverpool, but died *s.p.* in 1781, at the age of eighty-one ; 4, William, died an infant in 1694.—Sir Thomas was M.P. for Preston, in 1695, and died on the 7th May, and was buried at Ormskirk, on the 17th May, 1713, and was succeeded by his eldest surviving son,

Sir Edward Stanley, as fifth Baronet, who on the death of James, the tenth Earl, in 1735-6, became the ELEVENTH Earl of Derby, as the next male heir. Earl Edward was born on the 11th September, 1689, and married in March, 1714, Elizabeth, only daughter and heiress of Robert Hesketh, Esq., of Rufford, by Elizabeth, daughter of the Honourable William Spencer, of Ashton Hall, Lancashire, born 29th August, 1694. The Earl, previously to his succession to the earldom, was, in 1731, mayor of Preston, and M.P. for the county of Lancaster, and was afterwards appointed lord-lieutenant of the county, which latter office he resigned, on account of his age, to Lord Stanley ; but, on his son's death, in 1771, he was re-appointed lord-lieutenant. The Earl by his Countess had issue :—1, James, Lord Stanley, born 17th and baptised 29th January, 1717, at Preston, commonly styled (though improperly, as that barony belonged to the Duke of Athol) *Lord Strange*, who married, 17th March, 1747, Lucy, daughter and co-heir of Hugh Smith, Esq., of Weald Hall, Essex, of the ancient family of Smith, or Herriz, of Edmundthorpe, Leicestershire, and assumed, in consequence, the additional surname of Smith. Lord Stanley was a very able speaker and an active member of Parliament, and on the 16th December, 1762, on the resignation of the honours by the Earl, his father, he was constituted chancellor of the duchy and lord-lieutenant of the county palatine of Lancaster. Lord and Lady Stanley had issue :—Edward, who became the twelfth Earl of Derby ; Thomas, a major in the army, born in 1753,

died 1779, at Jamaica, and buried at Ormskirk, 20th April, 1780; Elizabeth, married, in 1779, to the Rev. Thomas Horton, Bart., of Chadderton, and died in 1796; Lucy, married to the Rev. Geoffrey Hornby, rector of Winwick, and died his widow in 1833, leaving a numerous family; and Harriet, married to Sir Watts Horton, Bart., and died in 1830, leaving an only child Harriet, married to Charles Rhys, Esq., of Bath.—2, Elizabeth, married, in 1746, to Sir Peter Warburton, Bart., of Arley Hall, and died 2nd September, 1780.—3, Mary, died unmarried, in 1795.—4, a son died unbaptised, March, 1718.—5, Thomas, born at Preston in 1720, and buried there December 12th, 1722.—6, Isabella Dorothy, born in 1721, and died at Bath, 15th July, 1787, unmarried.—7, Margaret, born April 22nd, 1723, died 1st March, at Knutsford, and buried at Ormskirk, on the 9th March, 1776.—8, Jane, born and buried at Preston, in April, 1726.—9, Jane, died at Knutsford, and buried at Budworth, Cheshire.—10, Barbara, died an infant and buried at Preston, 12th March, 1730.—11, Charlotte, married to Lieutenant-General John Burgoyne, and died 7th June, 1776.—12, Edward, registered at Preston, 8th July, 1732, died in London on the 20th of April, and buried at Ormskirk, 4th May, 1745.

The Earl of Derby died on the 22nd of February, 1776, aged eighty-seven; and, what is remarkable, his Countess only survived him two days, she dying on the 24th February, 1776. Lady Stanley died before her husband, Lord Stanley, on the 7th February, in the thirtieth year of her age, and was buried at Ormskirk, on the 17th February, 1759; and Lord Stanley, the eldest son of the Earl, died before his father, at Bath, on the 1st of June, and was buried at Ormskirk, on the 14th June, 1771; consequently the eldest son of Lord and Lady Stanley succeeded his grandfather as Earl of Derby.

EDWARD, TWELFTH EARL OF DERBY.

Edward Smith Stanley, the son of Lord Stanley, M.P., was born at Patten House,* Preston, on the 12th of September,

* This mansion was situated on the north side of Church Street, Preston, and was much admired for its stately appearance, the entrance at the front being gained by a double flight of steps. It was originally built by the Patten family, and passed by marriage to Sir Thomas Stanley, Bart., of Bickerstaffe, who, as already mentioned, married Elizabeth, only daughter and heiress of Thomas Patten, Esq. Patten House was for many years the residence of Lord Stanley, M.P., the father of the twelfth Earl of Derby; and, previously to 1833, it possessed a number of valuable pictures, which were open to the inspection of visitors; and, for many years during the Preston races, to the great advantage of the town, the twelfth Earl of Derby made the mansion his residence, where he entertained in the most princely style a large number of noble sporting friends. About the year 1835 the house was occupied as a barracks for soldiers, when the pictures were removed; and in a few years afterwards Patten House itself was dismantled, and a number of shops now occupy its site.

1752, and was registered at Preston on the 3rd of October. He was educated at Trinity College, Oxford. On the death of his noble and talented father, in 1771, he was in the nineteenth year of his age, when he succeeded to the title of Lord Stanley; and, shortly after attaining his majority, at the general election of 1774, he was elected a knight of the shire for the county of Lancaster, and held his seat in Parliament as such until his succession to the peerage. On the 23rd of June, 1774, he married the Lady Elizabeth Hamilton, only daughter of James, sixth Duke of Hamilton and Brandon, who was born in January, 1753, and was consequently in the twenty-second year of her age on her marriage with Lord Stanley.

On the death of his grandfather, in February, 1776, Lord Stanley succeeded to the earldom of Derby as twelfth earl; and on the 15th of March, in the same year, he was installed lord-lieutenant of the county of Lancaster, which distinguished office he efficiently held, with honour to himself and universal satisfaction, for the long period of fifty-eight years. Of the political career of the Earl of Derby there is little to note: On the 29th of August, 1783, during the administration of the Duke of Portland, Lord Derby accepted the office of chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, which he retained for about four months; and, in 1806, having been a warm supporter of Lords Grey and Holland, he again accepted the same appointment, which he held the second time for about twelve months; but the political career of Lord Derby was not of that prominent character which his talents and accomplishments would have supported had his ambition run in that direction. As a sportsman, however, Lord Derby had no superior, and in this character the representative of the illustrious House of Stanley, and England's proudest earl, made himself most conspicuous, and many are the pleasing anecdotes which might be enumerated to show that he merited that reputation and universal esteem he lived so long to enjoy.

His princely wealth allowed him to patronise, in true aristocratic style, the favourite sports and amusements of his day; and his name is intimately associated with the "Derby" and "Oaks" of Epsom Downs. It is pretty generally known, by their magnetic effect upon the members of both Houses of Parliament—peers and commoners, ministers and oppositionists, and even royalty itself—that on Epsom Downs in the parish of Surrey, about fifteen miles from London, in the week preceding Whitsunday, the most fashionable and most numer-

ously-attended horse-races in the kingdom are held, "The Derby Day" and "The Oaks" or "Ladies' Day" being the great days of attraction. In the year 1780 Lord Derby instituted the greater and more valuable race, and honoured it with the name of his earldom. The Derby stakes (for three-year-old colts and fillies) are of the annual value of from £6,000 to £7,000 and are run for on the Wednesday—"The Derby," that day being the great London holiday, when not less than half-a-million of people repair to Epsom Downs to consult "Dorling's correct card," and witness the competing speed and bottom of the fleetest horses in the world. It was not until the year 1787 that Lord Derby had the honour of carrying off "The Derby," but that year, and only that year, he won it by his Sir Peter Teazle, whose rider was S. Arnul. "The Oaks," worth from £4,000 to £5,000 (for fillies only), are run on the Friday—the Ladies' Day. They are so named after the villa of Lambert's Oaks, the racing residence of the Earl of Derby at Banstead, Surrey. The villa of Lambert's Oaks was formerly an inn of great repute in the parish of Woodmansterne, close by the Epsom Downs, and was erected by a society of sporting gentlemen, who adopted the name of "The Hunter's Club," from whom it passed by purchase to General Burgoyne, the author of *The Maid of the Oaks*, who added a dining room to the villa 41 feet by 21 feet, having an arched roof elegantly finished and decorated. After the Earl of Derby purchased it, he considerably enlarged and improved the whole building, and the noble Earl used to boast, in a spirit of hospitality which knew no bounds, that he could accommodate his guests with more than fifty bed-chambers; and here George Prince of Wales, and other "choice and kindred spirits," enjoyed the princely hospitality of Edward, twelfth Earl of Derby. The first race for the "Oaks," in 1779, was won by Lord Derby, with a mare called Bridget, the rider being R. Goodison.

In addition to one of the best studs of race-horses, Lord Derby had the then coveted reputation of having the best breed of game-cocks in the kingdom; and every farmer, who was fortunate enough to be one of his lordship's tenants, had the honour of "walking" on his farm one or more of his noble landlord's beautiful birds; and his lordship's cock-cart, hung round with large snow-white bags containing the feathered gladiators, was kept regularly on the move, for the purpose of collecting and distributing the favourite birds. For many years Lord Derby attended personally the Preston

and Liverpool races, and took great interest in the matches of his horses and cocks, and many were the well-earned guerdons in his lordship's possession as proof of their superior pluck and bottom. The enthusiastic sportsman, General Yates, whose breed of cocks had also a general celebrity, on almost all occasions presented himself as Lord Derby's opponent; and the noble Earl and the gallant General annually decided the question as to the superiority of their game-cocks by a well-contested match for a thousand guineas a-side; and the palm of victory was not so partial as to always fall on the same side. Indeed, so strong was Lord Derby's sporting bias, that horse-racing and cock-fighting, in their season, almost formed his "Elysium on earth." It must be remembered that Lord Derby lived in a sporting age, in which the bent of the public mind and the customs of the country were very different to what they are at the present time.—That was not an age of railways, electric-telegraph wires, sailing iron-sides, agricultural societies, and associations for the promotion of physical and social sciences, which now occupy in so laudable a degree the time, talents, and attention of the aristocracy and moneyed classes of the country, and in the prosecution and development of which none take a more lively and serviceable interest than the noble representatives of him whom we are now wont to style the "Old Earl of Derby," in whose gay days those who had money thought more about spending money than saving money, the hand being ever open to minister to the public and private enjoyments peculiar to the age; and, at the same time, dispensing, but perhaps with a too indiscriminating hand, a liberal dole to all comers. Cock-fighting, which dates from antiquity, was decidedly the favourite entertainment of the last century, and in the *Present State of England* (the latter half of the eighteenth century) cock-fighting is termed "a recreation for persons of birth and distinction;" nor was the sport illegalised by Act of Parliament until the passing of the Act 5 and 6 Wm. 4, c. 59, sec. 2. At one time a cock-fight took place on the first day of the Aintree races,* and from the town records of Liverpool, it appears the sport was so fashionable and popular that it was publicly countenanced by the authorities, as the following entry shows:—"That for the further and greater repair of gentlemen and others to this town, we find it needful that there be a handsome cockfight-pit made;" and this place of

* The Maghull races were first run in July, 1827, but were given up after the opening of the Aintree races, which were commenced in 1830.

resort was erected, being situate in More-street, and was much frequented, for a great number of years, by many of the nobility and principal gentry.

The name of Lord Derby is associated with many of the local public charities of Liverpool and other places. In 1795, the Countess of Derby established the Liverpool Ladies' Charity, and up to the present time upwards of 100,000 have enjoyed the benefits of the timely aid afforded through its instrumentality; and in 1820 the Liverpool Eye and Ear Infirmary was instituted under the patronage of the noble Earl; and the other public and private charities also enjoyed his patronage and liberal aid.

On the 14th of March, 1797, the Countess died, leaving issue:—1, Edward, Lord Stanley, who succeeded his father as thirteenth Earl; 2, Charlotte, born 17th October, 1776, and married 22nd August, 1796, to her cousin, Edmund Hornby, Esq., of Dalton Hall, Lancashire, and died 25th November, 1805; 3, Elizabeth-Henrietta, born 29th April, 1778, and married 15th January, 1795, Thomas Stephen Cole, Esq., of Twickenham.

On the 1st of May following the death of his first Countess, Lord Derby married for his second consort the talented and accomplished Miss Elizabeth Farren, the celebrated actress, whose charming graces and abilities had made her a special favourite with the first nobility and leading characters of the kingdom, the nuptials being celebrated by special licence at his lordship's town residence in Grosvenor-square. Miss Farren was the daughter of Mr. Farren, of Cork, and was born on the 12th of July, 1759, and at the time of her marriage was thirty-eight years of age, being nearly seven years younger than the Earl. Previous to her marriage, Miss Farren had shone for twenty years as the first actress in genteel comedy, and it is stated of her that "a more complete exhibition of graces and accomplishments never presented itself for admiration before the view of an audience," being justly considered "the finished pattern of female elegance and fashion."

After her marriage, the Countess of Derby was at once received at Court, and moved in all the higher aristocratic circles; and she was one in the procession at the marriage of the Princess Royal to the Duke of Wirtemberg; but on no occasion did she obtrude herself before the public, but devoted herself to those domestic and parental and social duties which her exalted position had entailed upon her, and of which she

was so distinguished an ornament and pattern. The Countess was held in universal esteem, and her graces and charms made her the object of public admiration and praise, and her virtues have been thus immortalised :—

Imperial Britain counts not in her train
Of dames high-born a name than thine more fair,—
The greatest monarchs might indeed be vain,
Could they NOBILITY like thine confer :
There fails e'en regal pow'r ! What kings bestow,
The mean oft grasp ; their stars the base may deck ;
But when thy race is run—thy head laid low,
When wealth, rank, grandeur, sink in one vast wreck,
In brighter lustre shall thy virtues shine,
And wreaths immortal shade thy hallow'd shrine !

Lord Derby, true to the example of his ancestors, took a lively interest in the welfare of his native county, and the several local celebrations almost invariably enjoyed his patronage and support. The Preston Guild, held in 1802, was honoured with the presence of the Earl and Countess of Derby, Lord Stanley, and other members of the family, on which occasion "Proud Preston" perhaps made its most magnificent guild show. On the 18th of September, 1806, the Prince of Wales (afterwards King George IV.) and the Duke of Clarence (late King William IV.) paid the Earl of Derby a visit at Knowsley, whence the royal brothers, accompanied by the Earl, honoured the town of Liverpool by a visit, and had the freedom of the borough presented to them, the occasion being marked by a grand demonstration and a general illumination.

In politics, Lord Derby was a moderate Whig ; but he was universally respected by all political parties, and in discharging his duties as lord-lieutenant and principal magistrate of the county he never allowed his political predilections to interfere with the faithful discharge of his authority, but maintained a frank and generous demeanour towards all with whom he came in contact ; and he was ever found ready to give his friendly attention to all public matters which might require his official interposition. Lord Derby was a kind and liberal landlord, and all who might be drawn within the precincts of his lordship's domain met with the most hospitable reception. In 1826, the deputy-lieutenants of the county presented Lord Derby with a magnificent candelabrum, on attaining his fiftieth anniversary as lord-lieutenant of the county, and it was this pleasing memorial which formed the central ornament on the table on the recent interesting occasion (June 24th, 1863) when the Prince and Princess of Wales were entertained by the present Lord Derby.

By his second Countess, Lord Derby had issue :—1, a

daughter, still-born 27th March, 1798 ; 2, Lucy-Elizabeth, born 1st March, 1799, and died, in the eleventh year of her age, 27th April, 1809, and buried at Ormskirk ; 3, James Smith Stanley, born 9th March, 1800, and died in London, 3rd April, 1817, and buried at Ormskirk on the 17th April ; 4, Mary-Margaret, born 23rd March, 1801, and married 29th November, 1821, to Thomas Egerton, second Earl of Wilton and Viscount Grey de Wilton, of Wilton Castle, county of Hereford. The Countess of Derby died on the 23rd April, 1829, and was interred at Ormskirk.

Lord Derby died on the 21st October, 1834, in the seventy-third year of his age, having survived his lamented Countess for upwards of five years, and was buried with his ancestors in the family vault in the Derby Chapel, Ormskirk, on the 31st of October, his remains being deposited by the side of those of his second Countess. The body was conveyed in a hearse having the form of a sarcophagus, the corners of which had Doric columns in imitation of black marble, and was surmounted with sable plumes, and the sides bore escutcheons, &c. The coffin was covered with rich crimson velvet, and the plate, handles, coat-of-arms (in *alto relievo*), nails, &c., were all of solid silver of the most exquisite workmanship. The funeral was characterised by every mark of honour and respect becoming his exalted station. The principal mourners were his only surviving son—the Earl of Derby, and his three grandsons—Lord Stanley, the Hon. Henry-Thomas Stanley, and the Hon. Charles-James-Fox Stanley ; and, in addition to the pall-bearers, the funeral was also attended, from Knowsley, by the Earl of Wilton, the Rev. F. Hopwood, the Rev. Geoffrey Hornby, Edmund S. Hornby, Esq., Colonel Hornby, Edmund Hornby, Esq., Edward Penrhyn, Esq., the Rev. J. J. Hornby, the Hon. Richard Bootle-Wilbraham, Captain Hornby, and Adam Hodgson, Esq. The procession formed at Stanley Gate, in Bickerstaffe, about two miles and a-half from Ormskirk, where spacious temporary stables had been erected. The tenants assembled to the number of 450, mounted for the most part on black horses, and upwards of 100 carriages of the nobility and gentry of the county, and also the state carriage of the mayor of Liverpool, joined in the procession. Shortly after eleven o'clock, the mournful *cortege* proceeded to move towards Ormskirk ; and by one o'clock all had reached the churchyard, where the tenantry formed in double column, through which the corpse was borne into the church, which had been deeply draped in black, the vicar, the

Rev. J. T. Horton, M.A.,* reading the funeral service. The following were the pall-bearers :—On the right, H. Egerton, Esq., William Hulton, Esq., Lord Molyneux, and Lord Skelmersdale; and on the left, Lawrence Rawstorne, Esq., R. G. Hopwood, Esq., Sir Thomas Dalrymple Hesketh, Bart., and the Marquis of Westminster. During the mournful ceremony the relatives of the deceased nobleman were frequently affected to tears, and sorrow was depicted on the countenances of all present.

EDWARD, THIRTEENTH EARL OF DERBY.

Edward Smith-Stanley, the thirteenth Earl of Derby, was born on the 21st of April, 1775. Having just attained his majority, in 1796 (being then known as Lord Stanley), he was returned to Parliament as member for the borough of Preston; and the electors of the same borough, at the election in 1802, again returned him to Parliament as their representative; but on the retirement of his relative, Colonel Stanley, M.P., of Cross Hall, in 1812, Lord Stanley resigned his seat for Preston, and was elected a knight of the shire for the northern division of the county of Lancaster, his colleague being John Blackburne, Esq., who was the Tory member from 1790 to 1830, when Mr. Blackburne retired from public life, and was succeeded by Wilson Patten, Esq., who still remains one of the knights of the shire.

On the 30th of June, 1798, Lord Stanley married his first cousin, Charlotte-Margaret, second daughter of the Rev. Geoffrey and the Hon. Mrs. Hornby, of Winwick. Lady Stanley was born on the 20th October, 1776, and died at Knowsley on the 16th of June, 1817, deeply lamented, and was buried at Ormskirk on the 23rd June. The memory of Lady Stanley is perpetuated by an affectionate brother, who, on the 20th of March, 1825, after enduring, with Christian cheerfulness and fortitude, several years of suffering, was himself removed from the scenes of this passing world to join his beloved sister in "another and a better world." This affectionate tribute to the memory of Lady Stanley is contained in the following beautiful lines in a poem entitled *Childhood*, by the Rev. E. T. S. Hornby, M.A., Fellow of All Souls, Oxford, and published in 1821, about four years before his death :—

Large was my circle;—and as still it grew,
With each new comer came new pleasures too;
And long did death defer that sick'ning shock
When the first lamb is sever'd from the flock.

* The Rev. J. T. Horton, vicar of Ormskirk, was son of Thomas Horton, Esq., of Howroyde, Yorkshire, the cousin of Sir Watts Horton, of Chadderton, who married Harriet, sister of the twelfth Earl of Derby. On the death of Sir Watts Horton, the 2nd baronet, Chadderton Hall, which had been the resort of the "gayest of the gay," was suffered to fall into a state of great dilapidation, owing, it is said, to Sir Watts having willed a part of the estate to the Rev. J. T. Horton, which had caused family differences.

Still, as I dwell on all who gambol'd here,
 But one bright star hath quite outshot its sphere !
 One, the dear memory of whose mind and face
 Nor chance, nor change, nor death, nor time can chase.
 On her I muse, when from yon sacred tower,
 The vesper-bell proclaims the twilight hour ;
 When, browsing 'mid the dew, the heifer still
 Crops her late meal on yonder flow'ry hill ;
 When starts the light from every cottage pane
 Watch'd by the trav'ler o'er the misty plain,
 Till, lo ! the full orb'd moon, " apparent Queen,"
 Flings her mild lustre o'er the tranquil scene.
 Then, round the poor man's hearth, is frequent heard
Her name, in death still cherished, still rever'd ;
 And mothers, as they rock their babes to sleep,
 Bless that dear name, and 'mid their blessings weep !

Of, as fond memory's dream these visions rears,
 To me that form in childhood's bloom appears !
 With her I roam o'er grassy banks, where blows
 The milk-white hawthorn, or the clustering rose ;
 With her, our lamb, our birds, our silk-worms feed,
 Or gather cowslips in yon lowland mead ;
 Or, with a holier hand and tearful eye,
 Some widow's wants with prompt relief supply.
 By yon twin limes, which Fancy well might feign
 The Baucis and Philemon of the plain,
 Which each to each their feathering arms extend
 Where bees still swarm, and honey dews descend,
 Oft have we sat ; and as the cool breeze fann'd
 Our temples' throbbing veins, have hand in hand,
 Held converse sweet, or sung our carols blithe,
 Or watched the mower whet his glistening scythe,
 And sigh'd to mark, where'er the keen blade came,
 How brief the daisy's boast, the violet's fame.
 And thus it is through life !—as we look on
 Our hopes, our darling pleasures, one by one,
 Swept by Time's scythe like summer's flowers are gone !
 Yet not for ever gone !—the day shall come,
 When in that brighter clime beyond the tomb,
 Once more each Amaranthine shoot shall bloom !

The children of Lord and Lady Stanley were three sons and four daughters, namely, 1, Edward Geoffrey, the present Earl of Derby ; 2, Charlotte-Elizabeth, born the 11th July, 1801, and married, December 16th, 1823, to Edward Penrhyn, Esq., and died 15th February, 1853, leaving issue ; 3, Henry-Thomas, born the 9th of March, 1803, and was late M.P. for Preston, but since his retirement from public life has chiefly resided abroad, having married, 1st September, 1835, Anne, daughter of the late Richard Woodhouse, Esq., and has issue three sons and one daughter ; 4, Emily-Lucy, born 2nd March, 1804, and died 13th November of the same year ; 5, Louisa-Emily, born 1st June, 1805, and married April 18th, 1825, to Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Long, of the Grenadier Guards, but died on the 11th of December following ; 6, Eleanor-Mary, born 3rd May, 1807, and married in June, 1835, to the Rev. Frank-George Hopwood, M.A., the present rector of Winwick ; 7, Charles-James-Fox, born 25th April, 1808, captain and afterwards colonel of the Grenadier Guards, and now colonel of the 7th Lancashire Militia, who married, in 1836, Frances-Augusta, daughter of Henry F. Campbell, K.C.B., by whom he has issue three sons and four daughters.

About two years before the death of his noble and venerable father, Lord Stanley was called to the House of Peers, having been created Baron Stanley, of Bickerstaffe, the ancient residence of that line of baronets, by letters patent dated the 22nd day of October, 1832, being then fifty-seven years of age, and the oldest heir-apparent in the peerage; and it is somewhat remarkable that at that time the twelfth Earl of Derby had three lineal heirs, namely, his son, then Lord Stanley, now under notice; his grandson, the present Earl of Derby; and his great grandson, now Lord Stanley.

His lordship succeeded to the earldom on the death of his father, in October, 1834, when he was appointed lord-lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the county. His lordship was also colonel of the Lancashire Militia, vice-admiral of the coast of Lancashire, and a Knight of the Garter.

The political career of the Earl of Derby was quiet and unobtrusive; but, though he took no prominent part in political matters, he generally gave his vote in favour of the Liberal side in State affairs. He was a great admirer of the Constitutional institutions of the country, and ever shewed himself warmly attached to the National form of religion, and he spent on churches and schools about £100,000. Of the churches built by his lordship we may mention St. John's at Burscough Bridge, Bickerstaffe Church, Knowsley Church, Newburgh Church, and Westhead Church; and he also erected several parsonages.

From childhood, Lord Derby was particularly attached to natural history, and during his long life he spared neither pains nor money in the advancement of his favourite study. He was for many years president of the Linnæan and Zoological Societies, with which he was in constant communication. Lord Derby's matchless collection of birds and mammalia at Knowsley was celebrated throughout Europe, and was a noble monument to the life-long assiduity of its noble collector. Some idea may be formed of this interesting and extensive collection of birds and mammalia when it is stated that the menagerie and aviary extended over one hundred acres of land and from seventy to eighty acres of water, and required for their efficient maintenance an annual expenditure of not less than £10,000. Previous to its distribution, the number of specimens contained in the collection comprised 94 species of mammalia, containing 345 individuals, of which 39 species, comprising no less than 207 individuals had been bred at Knowsley; and the total number of birds, exclusive of

poultry, was 318 species, comprising 1272 individuals: the total number of species being 412, and that of individuals 1617. The arrangements for the proper accommodation of the various birds and mammalia were remarkably appropriate, suited to the various habits and tempers of the animals, and each animal or group of animals enjoyed abundance of space and comfortable accommodation, the birds being under wired covers, and the mammalia roaming in spacious paddocks provided with appropriate shelter.

Among the animals, then at Knowsley, may be mentioned the female yak (*Poephagus grunniens*), a native of Thibet, and also a hybrid bull partaking of the same species, likewise from Thibet. With the presents brought for Queen Victoria by the Nepaulese Ambassador were several of the *chowry*, or cow-tail fans, an appendage of royalty in Nepaul. Those fans were from the tail of the yak, which is composed of a bushy tuft of long silky hair. The yak is said to be the only domesticated species of cattle that has not extended beyond its natural boundary. The Knowsley specimen was about the size of a small ox, and its long hair and bushy tail made it a noticeable object.—A Brahmin bull (*Bos taurus* (Linnæus) var. *Indicus*) formed an interesting feature in the collection, and the valuable cross produced between the Brahmin cattle of India and the short-horns of England is due to Lord Derby, and is still kept up at Knowsley.—There were also male and female Bara Singha deer (*Cervus (Axis) Duraucellii*, *Cervus elephoides*, or *Cervus Duraucellii*), of which, except a female in the Zoological Gardens, London, there was no other living specimen in the country.—The collection also included a fine male elk (*Cervus (Alces) palmatus*), from North America, the largest of the deer kind, being very peculiar in appearance and action, but swift, and greatly prized by the American hunter for its flesh.—Also may be noticed the (male and female) gnu (*Antilope gnu*) from South Africa. This variety of antelope used to be exhibited in ancient menageries as the “horned horse,” from the remarkable resemblance of its neck, mane, body, and tail to those of the horse.—The elands (two males and three females) were the only living specimens in this country, one of which had been bred at Knowsley. The eland is the largest of the antelope kind, measuring, when full-grown, five feet in height at the shoulder, and, from the docility of its nature and the excellent quality of its flesh, is more esteemed than any other of the wild animals of South Africa.—The collection of

animals also included several individuals of the bonte-bok (known, from the peculiarity of its markings, as the painted goat of South Africa), gazelles, several fine zebras, kangaroos, hog-deers from India, Indian antelopes (eight in number, and the only herd ever got together in this country), leucoryx (from Abyssinia and Nubia), hartbeeste (from South Africa), sing-sing (from West Africa), alpacas, foreign sheep, goats, llamas, and other animals too numerous to mention here, one-half of which had been bred at Knowsley.

The aviary included a valuable and splendid collection of birds. The six black-necked swans (a rare and prized species, and of which there was no other living specimen to be found in the country) were special favourites. The collection also comprised a number of eagles, emus, ostriches, parrots and parroquets (the masked parrots from the South Sea Islands being the only living birds of the kind in the kingdom), bustards, East India cassowary, cranes, red-backed pelicans, and numerous other rare and valuable specimens.

Besides the menagerie and aviary, Lord Derby had also formed a comprehensive and splendid museum, containing many animals and birds which had died in the menagerie and aviary at Knowsley, as well as other specimens obtained by collectors, at his lordship's expense, in almost every part of the world. One of the most interesting specimens to the general public is the first specimen ever brought to Europe of the apteryx, or wingless bird of New Zealand. This remarkable creature was brought from the south coast of New Zealand by Captain Barclay, of the ship *Providence*, about 1812, who presented it to Dr. Shaw, one of the leading naturalists of the day; and by him it was described in the 24th volume of his *Naturalists' Miscellany*; and, after the doctor's death, it was purchased by the Earl of Derby, then Lord Stanley. A fuller description of this specimen is given by the late Mr. Yarrell, in the 1st volume of the *Transactions of the Zoological Society of London*, p. 71, and plate 10, for doubts having been thrown on the existence of such a specimen, it was forwarded by Lord Derby, for exhibition, to the Zoological Society; and the materials with which it was stuffed having been previously removed by his lordship's directions, the skin was subjected to a close examination, thus setting finally at rest the doubts of the sceptical.

The Earl of Derby was a liberal donor to the British Museum and the Zoological Society, most of his large specimens being presented to one or other of the museums. An

adult hippopotamus, and a South African giraffe (18 feet high) were both presented to the British Museum by his lordship. Among the living animals and birds, Lord Derby's greatest and most permanent successes were probably the following :—The eland antelope of South Africa, now bred in considerable numbers by the Zoological Society, Lord Hill, and others, from stock originally introduced by Lord Derby ; the valuable cross between the Brahmin cattle of India and the English short-horns, already mentioned ; and the Impeyan pheasant, a most gorgeous species, of which the whole series at Knowsley was presented to the Queen, and the species has since been regularly bred in England.

In October of the year following the death of the Earl, the extensive menagerie and aviary, at Knowsley, were disposed of by public auction, it being distinctly ordered in the will of the Earl that the collection should be sold after her Majesty and the Zoological Society of London had selected from it any animal or bird they might wish to possess. The selections made by the Queen were two of the six black-necked swans and five Impeyan pheasants, three of which had been bred at Knowsley ; and the Zoological Society selected a group of five African elands, one of which had been bred at Knowsley. The sale commenced on Monday, the 6th of October, and lasted the whole of the week and the following Monday ; and thus this celebrated collection, the cost of which can never be known, was scattered over this and other countries for a mere nominal sum, the proceeds of the sale being only about £7,000, or little more than two-thirds of one year's keep alone. After this it is scarcely necessary to state that the prices generally were much below the value ; but to shew the realised prices of some of the animals, the following are selected :—The Brahmin bulls fetched £30 to £50 each, and the cows, £14 and £21 ; a Java deer, £13 13s. ; two Wapiti deer fetched £105 ; the female Bara Singhas, £10 10s. and £7 7s. ; the elk, £30 9s. ; the male and female gnu realised £283 10s. ; the male and female bonte-bok, £63 ; male and female leucoryx, £122 ; a female sing-sing, £33 ; a male hartbeeste, £37 ; the eight Indian antelopes were knocked down to Lord Hill for £85 ; one zebra fetched £140, and another, £150 ; three kangaroos sold for £105. The eagles realised from £10 10s. to £25 each ; the emus, £50 the pair ; the ostriches, from £18 to £70 each ; the parrots and parroquets, from £1 10s. to £16 each ; the bustards, £16 the pair ; cranes, £38 each ; red-

backed pelicans, £44 the pair ; East Indian cassowary, £28 ; and the remaining four black-necked swans were sold for £173 5s. Several of the lots were purchased for the Queen ; and the other principal purchasers were the Zoological Society of London, Lord Ellesmere, Lord Hill, Count Demidoff, M. Vichman, of Antwerp, and the proprietors of the Liverpool Zoological Gardens and Wombwell's menagerie.

Lord Derby's extensive and valuable collection of stuffed animals, birds, reptiles, fishes, &c., were by his lordship's will bequeathed to the town of Liverpool, and now forms, for the most part, the splendid collection known as the Derby Museum, at the Public Library, in William Brown Street. Mr. Moore, of the Derby Museum, Liverpool, has kindly furnished us with the following summary of the Derby collection taken at the time of its removal from Knowsley to Liverpool :—

Quadrupeds—Stuffed	611	
„ Unstuffed	607	
	<hr/>	1,218
Birds—Stuffed	11,131	
„ Unstuffed	7,700	
	<hr/>	18,831
Total.....		20,049

In addition to the above, there was a large collection of eggs, and a considerable number of reptiles and fishes.

The closing years of Lord Derby's somewhat secluded, but active and eminently useful life, were passed almost entirely at Knowsley. Nor was his lordship's attention confined exclusively to his favourite study ; but he efficiently discharged his high and important duties as chief magistrate of the county, and devoted much of his attention to plans for the employment of labour and the improvement of his vast estates, and for the welfare and comfort of his numerous tenantry. The noble Earl invariably had at heart the promotion of the comfort and well-being of his servants ; and the following pleasing circumstance, among many others, may be instanced, as shewing his kind consideration and sympathy for his workpeople :—One day the foreman had dismissed, at a distant part of the park, several of the workmen, when his lordship enquired of the foreman where the men were, and received for an answer, “ Rather too frosty, my lord, to do a fair day's work ;” to which his lordship immediately replied, “ Poor men must live, frost or no frost, as well as other men !” and insisted that the whole of the men should be re-called

and set to work in some way or other. Lord Derby ever proved himself one of "Nature's noblemen," and enjoyed universal esteem; and for good old English hospitality and princely generosity he was a noble and worthy representative of his ancient and illustrious family.

Lord Derby, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, died at Knowsley Hall, at about five o'clock in the morning of Wednesday, the 2nd of July, 1851, his death-bed being surrounded by his lordship's family. The funeral took place on Tuesday morning, the 8th of July, when the remains of the deceased nobleman were interred, with those of his beloved wife and ancestors, in the family vault in the Parish Church of Ormskirk. The funeral was as private as it well could be, consistent with the exalted rank and station of the deceased. The hearse, containing the remains of the Earl, followed by mourning coaches containing the principal mourners, arrived at Bickerstaffe from Knowsley at a little after eleven o'clock, when, near Stanley Gate, as on the occasion of the funeral of the twelfth Earl, about 400 of his lordship's tenantry, on horseback, joined in the procession, which reached Ormskirk at about twelve o'clock. The principal mourners were, the deceased Earl's eldest son, Lord Derby (late Lord Stanley), Colonel the Hon. C. Stanley, Lord Stanley, and the Hon. F. A. Stanley. The burial service was read by the Rev. W. E. Rawstorne, M.A., vicar. The pall-bearers were—on the right, Adam Hodgson, Esq., the Rev. Ellis Ashton, and the Earl of Sefton; and on the left, the Rev. T. E. Abraham, the Rev. W. Hornby, and Colonel the Hon. E. B. Wilbraham. At the conclusion of the service, Lord Derby and the other members of the family present advanced to the vault, and with tears took a last farewell of their noble and beloved relative.

The Earl was succeeded in his honours and estate by his eldest and highly-distinguished son, the present Earl of Derby.

EDWARD-GEOFFREY, FOURTEENTH EARL OF DERBY.

The Right Honourable Edward-Geoffrey Smith-Stanley, the fourteenth Earl of Derby, was born at Knowsley, on the 29th of March, 1799. He was educated at Eton and Christ's Church, Oxford, where he obtained, in 1819, the Chancellor's prize for Latin verse, the subject of his poem being Syracuse. Shortly after attaining his majority, in 1821, Mr. Stanley entered Parliament for Stockbridge, and sat on the same "side of the House" as his father, then Lord Stanley, for it

must be remembered that his grandfather, the twelfth Earl, was still living. After a silence of three years, on the 30th of March, 1824, being then just twenty-five years of age, Mr. Stanley delivered his "maiden speech," on the Manchester Gas-Light Bill, in which he acquitted himself so well, though the subject was dull and merely of local interest, that he elicited a high eulogium from Sir James Mackintosh, who followed and praised his "honourable and young friend;" and the speech is recorded in *Hansard* as "a maiden speech of much clearness and ability."* In the same session, on the 6th of May following, Mr. Stanley again displayed his rhetorical powers, the subject this time being of a more generally interesting character, namely, on a motion of Mr. Joseph Hume, touching the somewhat complex problem involved in the maintenance and organisation of the Irish Church Establishment, in which he spoke with great success, and exhibited that readiness, aptitude, and ability of an experienced debater for which he has ever been so celebrated and admired. This speech, too, was an interesting one, for it somewhat startled the more advanced Whigs, and it was on this very question that he broke from the Whig party. He was willing to reform abuses in the Church, but not to unduly abuse it, nor was he prepared to meddle with its property. This second effort is stated to have been a very decided oratorical success, and was lauded both by Burdett and Plunkett. After this Mr. Stanley crossed the Atlantic, and travelled some time in America, and, on his return, resided in Ireland, the family seat there being Ballykisteen, in the county of Tipperary, where the Stanley property is extensive.

On the 31st of May, 1825, Mr. Stanley married the Honourable Emma-Caroline Wilbraham, second daughter of Edward, first Baron Skelmersdale, of Lathom House. Of this happy union, Lord Derby, in returning thanks for the "Lancashire Witches," at the grand banquet given to his lordship by the Conservative party of Liverpool, on Saturday, the 29th of October, 1859, spoke in the following pleasing terms:—"With me I am afraid I must say that the days of the ladies' witchcraft are almost gone; but I cannot but remember that when I formed that connection, which has been the happiest of my life, it was a connection with a Lancashire lady—Lancashire bred, Lancashire born, and Lancashire brought up; and though many years have passed, I am quite confident that Lady Derby still retains those Lancashire feelings, that

* *Hansard*, vol. xi, p. 11.

affection for this county, and that interest in the prosperity and the welfare of her husband, which dictated her earliest affections and interests."

About a year after his marriage, Mr. Stanley was elected M.P. for the ancient borough of Preston; and on the 11th of March following, Mr. Canning's brief Cabinet was suddenly called into existence, when the honourable and youthful member for Preston entered on official life as Under Secretary of State for the Colonies. Upon the death of the Premier, which took place on the 8th August, 1827, Viscount Goderich the chief of the Colonial Department, undertook, on the 10th August, 1827, to reconstruct the Cabinet, and Mr. Stanley throughout those five months retained his place; and then followed the Duke of Wellington's memorable government, formed in January, which made the years 1828, 1829, and 1830 politically remarkable, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Lyndhurst, and Sir Robert Peel being instrumental in passing the Catholic Emancipation Bill. The Duke of Wellington's government, being defeated on a motion for the settlement of the civil list, resigned, and was succeeded by the celebrated "Reform Ministry," formed under the premiership of Lord Grey, when Mr. Stanley was nominated to the arduous post of Chief Secretary for Ireland; but, on presenting himself again to the electors of Preston as a candidate for their suffrages, the youthful statesman had "the mortification of finding his fair fame eclipsed by the tawdry popularity of Henry Hunt, the ultra-Radical Boanerges," and the electors returned the demagogue instead of the statesman, a choice which has ever since been regretted by the more intelligent and influential inhabitants of Preston. Mr. Stanley, however, was not long deprived of a seat in Parliament, for Sir Hussey Vivian resigned his seat for Windsor, and the Irish Secretary took his seat as member for the royal borough, which he continued to represent until 1832, when he was returned as one of the members for North Lancashire. In the post of Secretary for Ireland, Mr. Stanley succeeded Hardinge, and the office at that time was one of peculiar difficulty. At that critical period Richard Shiel and Daniel O'Connell were in the full flower of their parts and fame, and their influence and popularity among their countrymen made the office of Mr. Stanley none the less difficult and trying. O'Connell was the greatest master of Billingsgate of the age, and much of this the Irish advocate, in his extremity, whilst haranguing and inflaming the passions of his countrymen, threw at the youthful Secre-

tary for Ireland ; but such vulgar epithets as “Shave-beggar” and “Derby-Dilly” daunted not the youthful statesman, who could well afford to take it all in good part. In Parliament, Mr. Stanley, as vindicator of the policy of the government, with respect to the affairs in Ireland, was continually called upon to encounter in discussion the keen and dazzling sword-play of the “Celtic Saladin of debate,” and the terrible and burly blows dealt by the brazen club of the “Milesian Cœur-de-Lion.” The giant force and wonderful versatility of the Irish “Liberator” made men—and great men too—shrink from encountering him in debate ; but O’Connell himself greatly dreaded the withering effect of the power, scorn, and irony of the “Scorpion Stanley,” as he was pleased to name his youthful antagonist—an epithet strongly indicative of the sensibility of the wounds which O’Connell and his compeers subjected themselves to in their encounters with the gifted statesman from Knowsley. In these encounters with Ireland’s champions in the House of Commons, the matchless intrepidity, the perfect self-possession, the instant tact, and the inimitable dexterity invariably displayed by the Right Honourable Edward-Geoffrey Smith-Stanley excited the admiration of everybody ; and the honourable gentlemen from Ireland in those conflicts, which for several years excited Parliament and alarmed the country, notwithstanding their great oratorical powers and tactics, experienced the mortification of having to encounter a superior antagonist, and of publishing and establishing Stanley’s fame as one of the first debaters of the age.

During the session of 1832, when the Reform Bill was under discussion, Mr. Stanley’s masterly genius for debate was often effectively exercised ; and it was to his telling and resplendent talents as a debater that the country is indebted for the successful defence of many of its most important, and most seriously opposed provisions. In the same year, too, Mr. Stanley had the honour of carrying the first bold ministerial measure for securing to Ireland the benignant boon of national education. In noticing Mr. Stanley’s scheme of Irish education, the *Westminster Review* for December, 1844, which would rather condemn than praise its author, bears the following testimony to the measure :—

His plan of national education, with whatever imperfections it may be chargeable, is, in its spirit and idea, among the very best things that any government has done in our time. It was a bold, an honest, and a generous measure : and despite all the fanatical and factious opposition that has assailed it, has proved, within wide and still widening limits, a successful one.

In 1833, Mr. Stanley carried the Church Temporalities

Bill, by which the bishoprics in Ireland were greatly decreased, namely, from four to two archbishoprics only, and from thirty-two to eleven bishoprics. In the same year, having become Colonial Secretary, Mr. Stanley had the glory of carrying the measure for emancipating the West India slaves. This measure was brought before the House of Commons on the 14th of May, when Mr. Stanley, in bringing forward the bill, delivered a speech of which the noble-minded Sir Fowell Buxton has said that he had "never listened to anything so delightful as Mr. Stanley's speech on slavery." The following is an extract from that memorable speech :—

The present question involves interests greater, consequences more momentous, results more portentous than any which ever was submitted to British or any other legislature. A commerce giving employment now to 250,000 tons of shipping, a revenue of £500,000, and an export of equal amount is here to be dealt with. But what are these pecuniary interests, great as they are, to the moral and social consequences at stake, the freedom of 800,000 of our own, and many millions of foreign slaves; the emancipation and happiness of generations yet unborn; the ultimate destiny of almost a moiety of the human race, which is wound up with this question? Vast, almost awful, as are the interests involved in this question, and the difficulties with which it is beset, its settlement can no longer be delayed. We have arrived at a point where delay is more perilous than decision. We have only the choice left of doing some good at the least risk of effecting evil. We are called upon to legislate between conflicting parties, one deeply involved by pecuniary interests, and by difficulties ever pressing and still increasing; the other still more deeply interested by their feelings and opinions, and representing a growing determination on the part of the people of this country at once to put an end to slavery; a determination the more absolute and the less irresistible, that it is founded in sincere religious feelings, and in a solemn conviction that things wrong in principle cannot be expedient in practice. The time is gone by when the question can for a moment be entertained, whether or not the system of slavery can be made perpetual; the only point left for discussion is the safest, happiest way of effecting its entire abolition.

In the first instance, the government plan was one of gradual abolition, and £15,000,000 was to be advanced by way of loan to the West India planters. Mr. Stanley, however, saw reason to modify that proposition to an immediate abolition, in which he was supported by the noble-minded philanthropists of the day, such as the great Wilberforce, Buxton, and Clarkson; and so a gift of £20,000,000, as compensation to the slave-owners, instead of a loan of £15,000,000, was proposed and carried, and the immediate abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions secured, an achievement which made the hearts of many rejoice, and strikingly exemplified the moral grandeur of the British nation—a noble example which, alas, no other nation has imitated. In reviewing his eventful political career, we feel persuaded there is no service he has rendered to the nation which Lord Derby looks upon with greater satisfaction than that he was the Minister of the Crown who proposed and carried the measure for the abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions. Happy would it have been for America if she, at the same time, had had a minister so successful, that she might have been spared the bloody ordeal through which she has been passing. Shortly

after this, alarmed at Lord Melbourne's project for still further reducing the Irish Church Establishment, on the 27th May, 1834, Mr. Stanley withdrew from the Whig government, carrying with him the Duke of Richmond, the late Earl of Ripon, and Sir James Graham. On the resignation of Lord Grey, which took place on the 9th of July following, Mr. Stanley declined to take part in the administration formed by Sir R. Peel ; but, after acting in consort with the Conservative opposition for about seven years, he accepted the seals of the Colonial Office in 1841, and retained that post for more than four years, in the course of which, in November, 1844, he was summoned to the House of Peers in his father's barony of Stanley of Bickerstaffe. Towards the close of 1845, immediately after the failure of the potato crop had been ascertained, the *Times* newspaper somewhat alarmed the political world by the announcement that the Conservative Cabinet had determined to abolish the corn duties—on capitulating, as the Protectionists termed it, with the Anti-Corn-Law Confederacy. The news at first was partially disbelieved, but was confirmed so far as Sir Robert Peel and a majority of his ministry were concerned ; but Lord Stanley and the Duke of Wellington refused their consent to the proposition, upon which Sir Robert Peel tendered the resignation of the Cabinet, which her Majesty reluctantly accepted on the 6th December. Lord John Russell now attempted to form a ministry, but, after consulting with his colleagues, abandoned the object in despair, when Sir Robert Peel was immediately re-summoned to the royal councils, the Duke of Wellington having returned to his aid ; and thus supported by the other members of the administration, with the exception of Lord Stanley, Sir Robert Peel formed a united Cabinet with the Corn-Law repeal measures ready in his hands.

The next year, though not without hesitancy and some consideration, Lord Stanley was prevailed upon to become the head of the Conservative party, which, owing to the industry of Lord George Bentinck, and the assistance of Mr. Disraeli, was securing strength and influence. After remaining in office about six months, and passing the Corn-Duties Repeal Bill, Sir Robert Peel again resigned office, owing to an adverse vote in the House of Commons upon the Irish Arms Bill. Lord John Russell now formed an administration, which continued in office until February, 1852, when Lord Derby (who had succeeded to the earldom on the death of his father in the summer of the previous year) was sent for by the Queen,

and, in obedience to her Majesty's wish, he accepted the responsibilities of office, and on the 21st of the same month he had constructed a Conservative administration. On entering upon the high duties as Prime Minister, Lord Derby thus gave utterance to his feelings before the House of Lords :—
"Be the period of my administration longer or shorter, not only shall I have attained the highest object of my ambition, but I shall have fulfilled one of the highest ends of human being, if, in the course of that administration, I can, in the slightest degree, advance the great object of peace on earth and goodwill among men ; if I can advance the social, moral, and religious improvement of my country, and at the same time contribute to the 'safety, honour, and welfare of our Sovereign and her dominions.' " And he further observed—
"In words that are used by the criminal in the dock, and are not unworthy of the lips of the first minister of the Crown—of the first nation in the world—'We elect to be tried by God and our Country.' " Though its tenure of office only extended over about four months, besides other achievements, Lord Derby's administration had the honour of carrying measures of Chancery Reform, amending the Wills Act, passing the Militia Bill, and of forming with the Emperor of the French that alliance which is so popular, and which has proved so beneficial to the interests of England and France in particular, and to the interests of Europe generally. After the general election, in 1852, owing to a vote in the House of Commons hostile to Mr. Disraeli's financial scheme, Lord Derby promptly tendered to her Majesty the resignation of his Cabinet ; and, on the recommendation of Lord Derby, the Queen now called in Lord Aberdeen, who succeeded in forming what was called the "Coalition Ministry," which held office during the Crimean War, and continued in power until 1855, when Lord Derby was again sent for by her Majesty ; but, on this occasion, he declined to undertake the duties of government, on the high and honourable ground that the only ministry he was then able to form would have to be dependent for existence on the forbearance of its political foes—a position Lord Derby and his friends had too much honour and independence to condescend to occupy.

The task of forming a ministry was next intrusted to the veteran statesman, Lord Palmerston ; but Lord Palmerston's too great deference to the wishes of the Emperor of the French in the matter of the memorable "Conspiracy Bill," brought into the House of Commons soon after the attempt

upon the life of Napoleon III. by Orsini and others, aroused the strongest feelings of the country against Lord Palmerston's administration, and before that expression of public indignation he was compelled to give up the seals of office; and Lord Derby, on the 19th of February, 1858, again found himself First Lord of the Treasury and Prime Minister of Great Britain. Lord Derby's second administration continued in office nearly thirteen months; but on the 31st of March, 1859, being defeated in the House of Commons (by the majority of thirty-nine) on the second reading of its Reform Bill, Lord Derby again threw up the reins of government.

The Reform Bill brought forward by Lord Derby's ministry had the peculiar merit of securing for itself almost universal approbation, and many honourable members on the opposite side of the House expressed themselves in favour of its provisions, and even eulogised it on the whole; but because the bill had the misfortune to emanate with the Conservatives, the Whigs and Radicals banded themselves together, and, headed by Lord John Russell, succeeded in defeating a measure the merits of which they themselves admitted, and, not a few admired; and thus, notwithstanding their previous loud talk about Parliamentary Reform and an Extension of the Franchise, the country was apprized of what appears to be the fact that they were not in earnest in their promised overtures of Reform,—nor have they, since defeating Lord Derby's Reform Bill, cared to meddle with a subject which before they were accustomed to put forward as their chief recommendation to public favour, excepting the abortive measure brought forward by Lord John Russell on the 1st of March, 1860, but withdrawn on the 11th of June following. The defeat of Lord Derby's Reform Bill has proved rather a gain to the Conservative party than otherwise, inasmuch as it has confirmed the opinion entertained by many that the Conservatives are as much in favour of progress as their political opponents, and also that the Conservatives are not a whit less liberal, consistent with the true interests of the country, than the two opposing parties distinguished by the party appellations of Whig and Radical; and, no doubt, it is in some measure owing to that betrayal of political insincerity, on the part of Lord Derby's political opponents, which has since secured that increasing accession of strength to the Conservatives, who are now the strongest party in the House of Commons, and to whose forbearance the succeeding and present Palmerston-Russell ministry owes its popularity—its measures

on the whole being certainly less of the Whig caste than of the Conservative.

When Lord Derby waited on the Queen to resign the seals of office the second time, it is stated that her Majesty was so affected at having to part with so faithful a minister, and one to whom she was personally attached, that she asked the noble Earl whether there was nothing she could do to testify her esteem. "Yes," replied the retiring minister; "I would esteem it a favour if your Majesty would confer the Red Ribbon of the Bath on my two colleagues, Lord Malmesbury and Sir John Pakington." Her Majesty replied that she would; but still desired to know of something she might do for himself, when Lord Derby said he had no other request but to beg her Majesty to accept his homage and grateful thanks for her support during the arduous period he had had the honour of serving her. "But that is my accepting a gift from you, and not you from me, which, however, I am ready to do," replied the Queen, "but I must prove to you that I both value your services and esteem yourself; and if you will ask nothing, I shall confer the Order of the Garter on you, and as at this moment there is no vacancy, yours shall be an exceptional case. I will create you an Extra Knight, adopting the practice in the case of crowned heads; and, when a vacancy does occur, it shall be left for you to fill up."

On Saturday, the 29th October, 1859, a grand banquet was given to Lord Derby and his colleagues, at Liverpool, when the following address, signed by 7,090 of the leading inhabitants of Liverpool, was presented to his lordship:—

TO THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY, K.G., &c. &c.

We, the undersigned inhabitants of the borough of Liverpool, desire to approach your lordship with profound sentiments of respect and gratitude for the services you have so loyally rendered to the Crown and country during a period of unexampled difficulty; and to congratulate your lordship on the distinguished honour with which her Majesty, by investing you with the Order of the Garter, has this day graced your retirement from office.

The crisis at which your lordship was called upon to assume the duties of the Premiership was one of deep anxiety.

There was then, both in France and England, a feeling of irritated nationality, which threatened to sever the friendship so necessary to their mutual prosperity.

The slightest error in diplomacy might have kindled among noble and generous allies the fends and enmities of ancient days.

Your firmness and prudence were found equal to the occasion. By your wise counsels the jealous susceptibilities of both countries were honourably satisfied.

The despatches on foreign affairs, recently published, prove the earnest and wise endeavours of your Government to maintain the peace of the world, while they show how sincere were your efforts to promote real freedom in Italy.

We recognise in these despatches not only the greatest talent, but a firm and dignified spirit and a sound English feeling.

Your country gratefully acknowledges that at this trying period, when great nations have been stirred by passions which threaten the peace of the whole world, your Government has avoided all entangling alliances, has maintained the strictest neutrality, and has placed the defences of England on a basis of powerful security.

History will regard your Administration as a bright page in our country's annals; for therein is written "India pacified," "Our army victorious," and "Our navy unprecedentedly powerful."

The difficulties of your position were increased by the necessity of acting with an adverse House of Commons; and thus many of your legislative measures, though based on justice and calculated to meet the wants of the country, were met by opposing majorities.

It is painful to reflect that party spirit overrules every motive of action among unpatriotic legislators, and that from the subdivisions of political parties the Queen's government is dependent for the success of measures on the caprices of small, intriguing, and restless sections—themselves irresponsible, and therefore indifferent to consequences.

By a combination of these sections the country has been deprived of your lordship's services, but happily not before your measures had proved the policy of your Government to have been based on constitutional progress and the advancement of material prosperity.

28th June, 1859.

The Address was beautifully engrossed on vellum and put in the ancient roll fashion, with silver edges, and enclosed in a superb casket of silver, formed of four carefully reduced copies in bas-relief from the Elgin marbles, on the centre of the lid being a delicately chased relief, representing the goddess Minerva ending the dispute about the armour of Achilles; and on the shield, inside the lid, the arms of Liverpool on the left, and the Derby arms on the right, and underneath the following inscription:—"This casket, containing an address signed by 7,090 Conservatives of Liverpool, was presented to the Right Hon. the Earl of Derby, K.G., 29th October, 1859. The presentation was followed by a banquet at the Philharmonic-hall, Francis Shand, Esq., in the chair."

At the banquet in the evening, in his speech replying to the toast proposing his health, Lord Derby thus defined the Conservatism to which he and his colleagues were attached:—

I mean by this, not that Conservatism, falsely so called, which would obstruct all useful change; but I would speak of that Conservatism which is not obstruction, and which is the best promoter of safe and gradual social improvement—of that Conservatism which, strenuously adhering to the old machinery of the constitution, adapts, from time to time, the various parts of its mechanism to the real requirements and the real capacities of the age in which we live—of that Conservatism which should give to all orders and degrees of men within this realm their due weight, authority, and preponderance—of that Conservatism which loves the interests of the people at large, but will not be led away by the noisy demonstrations of blustering demagogues, either to shrink at the voice of menace, or timidly to concede rights and positions to large bodies of men for the purpose of obtaining a temporary moment of popularity, when, in our hearts, we believe the concession of those coveted boons would be the worst injury to the classes to whom we give them. Gentlemen, this is the Conservatism to which, I take it, you pledge yourselves by your attendance this day. They are the principles which I have ever professed, and upon which I have ever endeavoured to act.

On that interesting occasion Lord Derby thus explained his connexion with the great Conservative party:—

I wish to speak in this assembly—as I have spoken upon all occasions—in no terms indicative of anything but the highest respect for the distinguished genius, and for the personal character of that great statesman, whom England has lately had to lament, the late Sir Robert Peel. And if there were any occasion upon which I could not speak in terms other than those which I have always used, it would be at a time when a melancholy domestic calamity has prevented the attendance of his nearest relation (General Peel) one of my most valued colleagues in the late Government, and who gave me most able and admirable assistance in the management of the most difficult department, namely, the civil department of the army in this country. But, gentlemen, I am not speaking disrespectfully of the memory of a statesman with whom I had the honour of many years of personal friendship, and, I believe, reciprocal esteem, if I say that the course which, at the close of 1846, was taken by the late Sir Robert Peel completely and entirely, for the moment, shattered the Conservative party of this country. Upon the failure of Lord John Russell's endeavour to form a government, I wrote confidentially to the most eminent man of the country—to the late Duke of Wellington—a warm and cordial admirer and supporter of Sir Robert Peel, and a man who had stood for many, many years prominent—the foremost man in the world in the eyes of his countrymen—I wrote to consult him as to

the position of the Conservative party, and the best means of restoring that unity which had been so lamentably dissevered. I received a long letter from the Duke of Wellington—which I need hardly say I have kept and deeply value—in which he explained to me his own position, and in which he stated, that having accepted, under the abortive attempt of Lord John Russell to form a government, the duties of the neutral position of Commander-in-Chief of her Majesty's forces, he considered that he had for ever broken off his political connexion with any party. He intimated his concurrence in the opinion which I had ventured to express, that the alienation of the Conservative party from Sir Robert Peel was not a mere temporary feeling, but that it was impossible that he should ever again place himself at their head with a prospect of success; and the Duke of Wellington, I will not say entreated, but I will say he exhorted me, as a matter of duty to my Sovereign and to my country, to throw aside all doubts and all hesitation, and to assume at once the leadership of that great Conservative party, whose existence, and whose power, he deemed to be essential to the well-being of the country and all its institutions—and he almost implored me, in my attempt to form an administration, not to be discouraged by any difficulties, except those which should absolutely be insuperable, but to sacrifice all other feelings to the desire of serving my Sovereign. Gentlemen, for fourteen years I have endeavoured to act in the spirit of that wise and patriotic advice, coming from that eminent man—and I have been rewarded by seeing the Conservative party, not only in Parliament, increasing in numbers and in union, but spreading their roots deeply into the feelings and the heart of the country, and forming, as our opponents are compelled to acknowledge—and in doing so their fears rather magnify the position—and declare that we are actually at this moment at the head of a parliamentary majority.

On the death of the Duke of Wellington, in 1852, the Earl of Derby was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford; and on the occasion of his installation, he delivered an eloquent address on education; and it is said that he went through his duties in a graceful and dignified manner; and the remark was made that he evinced the possession of that rare and eminent academical qualification—correct Latinity. Among the batch of doctors made on that interesting occasion, including the Earl of Eglinton, Mr. Disraeli, and the late Lord Macaulay, was the noble Chancellor's son, Lord Stanley. In admitting the distinguished personages to the honorary degrees, Lord Derby addressed each in the usual formula—*Vir honoratissime* (Most honoured sir); but on addressing his son, Lord Stanley, the noble Chancellor altered the formula to the more appropriate words, *Fili mi dilectissime* (My most beloved son). The interesting scene was altogether a novel one within the walls of the Sheldonian theatre, and stirred the sympathetic emotions of all beholders, who greeted the proud position of the noble father and his noble son with a ringing volley of acclamations.

Of the many public institutions with which the name of Lord Derby is intimately associated, it may be mentioned that on the 22nd of October, 1840, he laid the foundation-stone of the Liverpool Collegiate Institution; and on the 18th of August, 1860, he laid the first stone of the Kirkdale Industrial Ragged Schools and Church, on which occasion he delivered a powerful and eloquent address on the spiritual requirements of the poorer classes. On Saturday, the 1st of September, 1860, he gave expression to his approval of the great National Volunteer movement, by inviting 14,000 Lan-

cashire volunteers to a review in Knowsley Park, and to partake of his lordship's hospitality. That memorable sight, which was witnessed by about 150,000 spectators, within the park, was grand beyond description, and was a muster which probably no other county but that of Lancashire could have made. On that day Lord Derby fed and regaled 11,000 of the Lancashire volunteers—including riflemen, artillerymen, and hussars—on a most liberal scale; and he has since accepted the colonelcy of the 1st regiment of Lancashire Rifle Volunteers, and so lent his great name and influence in the most effective manner to strengthen the hands of our beloved Queen, for whom all true Britons never tire of invoking the Divine favour and blessing.

During the present distress, consequent upon the great struggle in America, which has been so keenly felt in the manufacturing districts, Lord Derby has most nobly responded to the call of duty, and by a princely liberality and a personal devotion to the work of alleviating the pangs of the sufferings and privations of his fellow-countrymen, he has shewn that he is fully alive to the duties and responsibilities as well as to the rights which appertain to wealth and exalted station; and his self-denying and assiduous attention as chairman to the Central Committee for dispensing relief to the suffering operatives of Lancashire and Cheshire affords by no means the least interesting feature in his illustrious career.

When it is stated that Lord Derby is a statesman of great talent, and of great experience and enlarged views, it is only stating what has been admitted and well known and sustained for upwards of forty years. As a debater he possesses perfect coolness and self-possession, and is never at a loss, not even for a moment; and having a clear distinct voice, with a surprising fluency of neat and natural phrase, his style is admirably adapted to the purpose of exposition. In addressing himself to a subject he takes up every argument and every fact advanced by his opponents, leaving neither topic nor assertion untouched. There is nothing about Lord Derby's style savouring of book or pamphlet, and hence it is more original and genuine as oratory,—those ringing, harmonious tones being the rush and expression of a clear-headed man's thoughts, backed by a keen and active temperament. His speeches are not only delighting to listen to, being apt, full, and vigorous, and characterised by an ingenious logical argument, but they read well, and, as has been observed, we should none of us object to have them recited anywhere or at any time as

favourite specimens of English oratory. From the purity and fire of his style as a debater he has been called "Hotspur," and Bulwer has styled him the "Rupert of debate," terms which are significant of his quick replies, the caustic rejoinders, and the thorough knock-down, stunning blows he deals upon his opponents, and of which, in their turn, O'Connell, Roebuck, and, recently, Lord Westbury (the present Lord Chancellor), have had to feel the weight and force. At the opening of the session of Parliament (February 4th, 1864), Earl Russell (better known as Lord John Russell) also received some ugly knocks from the Earl of Derby, who charged the noble Foreign Secretary with the betrayal of Reform, upon which having passed from the House of Commons to the "serene atmosphere" of the House of Lords, the would-be champion of Reform had himself, to serve his purpose, "pronounced the funeral oration of his defeated Bill," and actually sang its *requiescat in pace!* In speaking of Earl Russell's foreign policy, the Earl of Derby thus humorously fastened upon Earl Russell the part of Moonshine, and compared him to Bottom, the weaver, and Earl Russell evidently felt the force and application of the wit levelled at him. Lord Derby observed:—

The foreign policy of the noble earl, as far as the principle of non-intervention is concerned, may be summed up in two homely but expressive words—"meddle and muddle." (Great cheering and laughter.) During the whole course of his diplomatic correspondence, wherever he has interfered—and he has interfered everywhere—he has been lecturing, scolding, blustering, and retreating. (A laugh.) In fact, I cannot think of the foreign policy pursued by the noble earl and his colleagues without being reminded of another very distinguished body of actors commemorated, as your lordship's are aware, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Of that celebrated troupe the two chief ornaments were Bottom, the weaver, and Snug, the joiner. It appears to me that the noble earl opposite combines the qualities which are attributed to both those distinguished personages. (A laugh.) Like Bottom, the weaver, he is ready to play every part, not even excepting that which he has already played most satisfactorily—viz., "Moonshine." (Great laughter.) But his favourite part is the part of the lion. "Oh," says the noble earl, "let me play the Lion. I will roar so that it will do any man's heart good to hear me; I will roar so that I will make the Duke say, 'Let him roar again; let him roar again.'" (Continued laughter.) The noble earl, too, knows as well as anyone, how, like Bottom, to "aggravate his voice," so that he will "roar you as gently as any sucking dove;" and, moreover, he has had recourse more than once to the ingenious and somewhat original device of letting half his face be seen through the lion's neck, as if to say, "For all my roaring I am no lion at all, but only Snug, the joiner." (Renewed laughter.) There is, however, one point of difference which I would have you observe, because it is rather important. Bottom, the weaver, and Snug, the joiner, were possessed by an earnest desire not to alarm the ladies too much, and consequently they gave due warning at the outset. On the other hand, the noble earl's disclosure that though the roar was like that of a lion, the face was only that of the noble lord himself (a laugh), was not made betimes in order that the audience might not be frightened, but only because he found that all the roaring in the world would not frighten them.

Some of Lord Derby's political opponents have, at times, complained of his patrician pride; but the cause of this complaining has thus been happily explained by the great statesman, Sir Robert Peel, who, speaking of Lord Derby in his younger days, says:—"Often have I heard the right honourable gentleman taunted with his aristocratic demeanour. I

rather think I should hear fewer complaints upon that score if he were a less powerful opponent in debate." Lord Derby's attitude is manly and dignified, being perfectly free from any affectation of deportment ; and his gesture is graceful and impressive. He displays great strenuousness and even ardour, and never addresses himself to the passions, but always to the reason. In an essay recently published in the *London Review*, on parliamentary eloquence, the great parliamentary orators and statesmen of the present day, as compared with the great names of Pitt, Fox, Burke, Canning, and others, are thus noticed :—"Mr. Gladstone bears some likeness to the heaven-born minister, Pitt. Unlike him in manner, he is like him in clear, roundness of enunciation, and like him in persuasiveness of tone. In his moods of thought and choice of words, Mr. Disraeli approaches more nearly than any modern speaker to Canning, though he again is very different from him in manner ; and, as far as regards vigour, readiness, and beautiful clearness of style, Lord Derby is the nearest copy of Fox which we can produce. Burke has no close parallel among us now, nor has Grattan, unless we may conceive Mr. Roebuck in his best moments to bring back in some faint degree the 'drawling but fiery' sentences of the great Irishman." On the same point, too, we may also quote the opinion of our modern historian, Sir Archibald Alison, who, in speaking of Lord Derby as an orator, observes :—"He is beyond all doubt, and by the admission of all parties, the most perfect orator of his day. His style of speaking differs essentially from that of the great statesmen of his own or the preceding age. His leading feature is neither the vehement declamation of Fox, nor the lucid narrative of Pitt, nor the classical fancy of Canning, nor the varied energy of Brougham. Capable, when he chooses, of rivalling any of these, illustrious in the line in which they excelled, the native bent of his mind leads him rather to a combination of their varied excellencies, than an imitation of any one of them. In many respects he is a more perfect and winning orator than any of his predecessors. His eloquence presents a combination of opposite and seemingly inconsistent excellencies, but which combine, in a surprising manner, to form a graceful and attractive whole. At once playful and serious, eloquent and instructive, amusing and pathetic, his thoughts seem to flow from his lips an unpremeditated stream, which at once delights and fascinates his hearers. None was ever tired while his speech lasted ; no one ever saw him come

to a conclusion without regret. He is capable at times of rising to the highest flights of oratory, is always thoroughly master of the subject on which he speaks, and never fails to place his views in the clearest and most favourable light." Again, recently, in a notice on that late excellent statesman, Lord Aberdeen, the *Times* thus alludes to Lord Derby as an orator:—"Not only had Lord Aberdeen seen Fox and Pitt stand as Byron has described them, like the two mountains, 'Athos and Ida, with a dashing sea of eloquence between,' he had listened with awe to the rolling thunders of Burke, he had witnessed the brilliant but harmless lightnings of Sheridan, he had heard Granville and Grey in their prime. Whitebread and Wyndham he had heard volleying forth their clamours by the hour; and with all the inclination of an old man to depreciate the present and to laud the past, he has declared of these giants, of whom it is supposed that we are never more to see the like, that not one of them, as a speaker, is to be compared with our own Lord Derby, when Lord Derby is at his best."

But besides being the foremost orator of his day, and a profound statesman, Lord Derby has distinguished himself as a writer, and that too in a sphere widely different from that of politics; and of the several publications which he has issued, mention must be made of his *Conversations on the Parables*, a work of considerable merit: and, apart from its excellencies, highly interesting, as being from the pen of a leading statesman, whose political services would seem to have demanded the whole of his time and attention.

The Earl and Countess of Derby have had six children, three sons and three daughters, the surviving children being:—1, Edward-Henry, the present Lord Stanley; 2, Frederick-Arthur, of the Grenadier Guards, born 15th January, 1841, and married, May 31st, 1864, the Lady Constance Villiers, eldest daughter of the fourth Earl of Clarendon, and sister to Lady Skelmersdale; 3, the Lady Emma-Charlotte, born Dec. 25th, 1835. The Lady Emma Stanley was one of the bridesmaids at the nuptials of the Princess Royal and Prince Frederick-William of Prussia, on the 26th January, 1858; and was married on the 11th October, 1860, at Knowsley Church, to Colonel the Hon. Wellington Patrick Manvers Chetwynd Talbot, brother of the Earl of Shrewsbury, and a captain of H.M.'s 7th Regiment of Foot, formerly aide-de-camp to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and comptroller of the Household in 1845, lieutenant-colonel of the Staffordshire

Militia, private secretary to the Earl of Derby in 1852, British resident at Chephalonia in September, 1855, and in December, 1858, appointed sergeant-at-arms, and whose towering form, fine proportions, and accomplishments render him a fit and picturesque guardian of the gilded shrine before which he officially takes his position.*

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD STANLEY, M.P.

Edward-Henry Smith Stanley, the elder son of the Earl of Derby, was born at Knowsley, on the 21st July, 1826. His educational studies were commenced at Rugby, and continued at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took a first-class in classics, in 1848. On attaining his majority, in 1847, the joyous event was celebrated at Knowsley by a grand display of old English sports and with true baronial hospitality. The fitting-up of the temporary grand ball-room for the occasion was estimated at £3,000, and on the evening of the ball (September 23rd) the sight is described as "one of the most magnificent scenes ever witnessed," and "as one that will dwell eternally on the memory of all who had the good fortune to be present." Nor were the rejoicings confined to Knowsley, but extended on the Derby estate in Ormskirk, Bury, Fylde, Preston, and Lancaster, the Isle of Man, and at Ballykisteen, in Tipperary. In the spring of 1848, Mr. Stanley, as he was then styled, unsuccessfully contested the

* The *trousseau* of the noble bride was very splendid, consisting of upwards of one hundred and fifty marriage gifts from her relatives and friends. The following is a list of some of the presents:—The Earl of Derby presented a magnificent tiara of diamonds, and a bracelet composed of diamonds and emeralds. The Countess of Derby, a necklace, brooch, and bracelet, each composed of diamonds, pearls, and rubies. Lord Stanley, an ebony dressing-case, with gold fittings. Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Cambridge, Indian scarf, blue, brocaded with silver. His Serene Highness Prince Edward of Saxe Weimar, a clock, gilt, inlaid with malachite. Her Royal Highness Princess Mary of Cambridge, a splendid pair of white china stands. The Countess of Sefton, a locket, set with sapphires and pearls. The Duke of Buccleuch, a large brooch, composed of amethysts, pearls, and diamonds. The Duchess of Buccleuch, a handsome ruby ring. The Earl of Dalkeith, a case of gold spoons, &c. The Marquis of Exeter, a cross of diamonds and pearls. The Earl of Hardwicke, a pearl and gold necklace. The Duchess of Richmond, a splendid gold bracelet, set with an immense turquoise. Earl of Sefton, a gold bracelet, set with turquoise. The Earl of Chesterfield, a handsome workbox, composed of old china, gold, and coral fittings. Lord Skelmersdale (cousin of the bride), a gold bracelet, set with turquoise. The Marchioness of Clanricarde, a beautiful set of antique ornaments. The Marchioness of Aylesbury, a silver basket. The Countess of Jersey, a gold bracelet, set with diamonds and turquoise. The Earl of Winchester, a large silver and ebony clock. Lady Cremorne, gold and coral earrings. The Lady Constance Grosvenor, gold and coral brooch and earrings. The Marquis of Salisbury, a handsome silver tea kettle. The Marchioness of Salisbury, a ring set with diamonds and rubies. Lady Cecilia Molyneux, a music book. The Hon. Mary C. Bootle-Wilbraham (aunt of the bride), a ring set with opals. The Hon. F. A. Stanley, a writing book and inkstand, with blue and gold enamel fittings. The Hon. Mrs. Bootle-Wilbraham, a diamond locket. Colonel The Hon. E. Bootle-Wilbraham (uncle of the bride), a large casket set in oak and gold. Miss Stanley, writing materials, set in silver and oak. Miss de Rothschild (daughter of Baron de Rothschild), two figures in gold. The Earl of Shrewsbury, the Lady Alice Peel, the Countess of Shrewsbury, the Rev. Ellis Ashton, Lady Eleanor Hopwood, Miss Penrhyn, Captain Hornby, R.N., and the Misses Bootle-Wilbraham also made presents to the bride. Colonel Talbot, in celebration of his marriage, was presented by the officers of his regiment (the 1st Staffordshire Militia) with a handsome silver salver.

borough of Lancaster. Possessing talents of a rare order, Mr. Stanley determined to make himself acquainted with the world as it is, by travel and personal observation; and for this purpose he visited the principal agricultural and manufacturing districts of the kingdom; and by personal intercourse with the producing and manufacturing classes, acquired a knowledge of social matters, which he has since turned to so good account. Nor was his disposition to acquire practical information from its source confined to his native country; so that, instead of dashing into the allurements of fashionable life, the youthful statesman, like his father had done twenty-four years earlier, went forth to make himself acquainted with the state of affairs in Canada, the great neighbouring republic of America, the West Indies, and other distant places, where, as in England, he spent his time in studying the social condition of the people. During his sojourn in America he was elected by the constituency of Lynn-Regis to fill the seat in the House of Commons, become vacant by the sudden and lamented death of Lord George Bentinck. On returning to England, he at once entered upon his parliamentary duties; and on the 31st of May, 1850, he delivered his maiden speech on Sir Edward Buxton's resolution, "That it was unjust and impolitic to expose the free-grown sugar of the British colonies to unrestricted competition with the sugar of slave-growing countries." This was a subject upon which Mr. Stanley could speak from personal observation, and he did so in a very able manner, ascribing the deplorable condition of the colonists to the fact of having to contend with slave labour. The "maiden" effort of Mr. Stanley was highly praised by Sir John Pakington, Lord Palmerston, and Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Stanley next visited the East, and was in India when nominated in March, 1852, Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in his father's first ministry. At the general election, he was again returned member for Lynn-Regis.

The existence of the Derby ministry, of 1852, was too brief to allow Lord Stanley to display those administrative abilities for which he has become so popular; but in the spring of the following year (the memorable "Coalition Ministry" being in office), when Sir Charles Wood brought forward his bill for the future government of India, Lord Stanley submitted to the House of Commons a motion, which had for its object a more complete reform of Indian affairs than that contemplated by the "Coalition Cabinet," in the

proposing of which he spoke with much force and ability, and, though the motion was rejected, it met with a powerful support on both sides of the House. In the early part of 1855, he met his constituents at Lynn-Regis, when he entered very minutely and ably into the manner in which he had discharged the trust imposed upon him as their representative in connexion with the various and important subjects which had been brought before the House since his election during the preceding three years. In the same year, on the death of Sir William Molesworth creating a vacancy in the Colonial Office, Lord Palmerston paid a well-merited compliment to Lord Stanley's talents and popularity by offering to him the seals of that department, but the appointment was not accepted.

In Lord Derby's second administration in 1858-9, Lord Stanley was Secretary of State for India, with a seat in the Cabinet, and it was under his lordship's enlightened and statesmanlike superintendence that the management of our Indian Empire was transferred from the Board of the East India Company to the responsible advisers of Her Majesty, and which has worked so well for the interests of India.

The career of Lord Stanley has been of an independent character. He has exposed the extravagancies of the peace-at-any-price party, and alike condemned the follies of the opposite party; and on the questions of Parliamentary reform, Law reform, and other popular questions he takes enlarged and liberal views; but his is not the liberty of the demagogue, nor yet the affected liberality of the mere partisan. He is a philosophic statesman in the true sense of the term, and what he says he thinks, and his deductions are based on data with which he has taken pains to make himself familiar. It is for this independence and self-reliance that we all admire Lord Stanley's career; and the independent character of the son (though they may differ in degree on some points) has the respect of the father. It is, however, mainly as a "social reformer," and to his indefatigable exertions out of Parliament for the intellectual improvement of the great body of the people that Lord Stanley owes the public favour he has so long enjoyed; and the painstaking example set by him in the advocacy of the cause and encouragement of mechanics institutes, and the establishment of public libraries, and the promotion of popular education and sanitary reform, have well entitled him to the gratitude of his country.

The noble House of Stanley, whose honoured pedigree of

upwards of 780 years has always occupied a high position in England, never stood higher in the estimation of its country than at present; and the Derby family is the only one in modern times that has presented father and son in the same Cabinet—the father as Premier, and the son as one of the Principal Secretaries of State. As Englishmen, and especially as Lancashire men, we feel proud of the names of Lord Derby and Lord Stanley, each of whom has nobly testified his interest in the progress and welfare of the people of England's mighty empire; and may both long live to enjoy the laurels which they have so laudably earned and merited.

Arms—Ar., on a bend, az., three bucks' heads, cabossed, or.——*Crest*—On a chapeau, gu., turned up erm., an eagle, wings endorsed, or, feeding an infant in its cradle, ppr., swaddled, az., banded of the third.——*Supporters*—Dexter, a griffin; sinister, a buck, both or, and ducally collared and chained, az., the back attired of the last.——*Motto*—*Sans changer.*

KNOWSLEY.

The princely domain of Knowsley has been in possession of the present House of Stanley and its maternal ancestors during the last seven centuries. Knowsley became the property of the Lathom family by the marriage of Sir Robert de Lathom with Catherine, daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas de Knowsley, from whom it passed into the Stanley family by the marriage of Isabella, daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas de Lathom, the grandson of Sir Robert de Lathom, with Sir John Stanley, the founder of the House of Derby, by which happy and eventful union was laid the foundation of that strength and nobility of which "Lathom and Knowsley" are proverbially significant, the honour of which has ever been so signally sustained by the illustrious race of the Stanleys.

Knowsley, now the principal seat of the Earl of Derby, is mentioned in *Domesday Survey* as Chenulueslei (Knoosley), and is situate in the parish of Huyton, being about eight miles from Liverpool and two from Prescot. During its possession by the Lathom family, Knowsley appears to have been kept as a hunting lodge and chase, the principal residence of the Lathoms being Lathom House; and even after it had passed into the Stanley family, until after the battle of Bosworth, which terminated the protracted and bloody contests that had raged between the royal Houses of York and Lancaster, Knowsley remained a hunting seat; and, no doubt, it

was to enjoy the pleasures of the chase there afforded that Henry VII. was entertained at Knowsley also, when on a visit to his mother, the Countess of Thomas, the first Earl of Derby, at Lathom,—Knowsley Hall, as well as Lathom House,*

* LATHOM HOUSE is now the property and seat of the Right Honourable Lord Skelmersdale, and is a splendid mansion in the Italian style of architecture. The rebuilding of the present south front (as already stated at page 256) was commenced by William-Richard-George, the ninth Earl of Derby, upon the site of the old Lathom House which had been so heroically defended by the Countess of the seventh Earl of Derby during the memorable siege of 1644, but the Earl dying shortly after the work was begun, the estate passed to Lord Ashburnham, who had married Henrietta-Maria, second daughter of the ninth Earl of Derby, from whom it passed by purchase to Henry Furness, Esq., who, in 1724, re-sold it to Sir Thomas Bootle, Knight of Melling, who, in the same year (1724) recommenced the building of the mansion and completed it in 1734, after a beautiful design by Leoni, which was published in the *Vitruvius Britannicus*, vol. iv., that portion of the south front, as erected by the ninth Earl of Derby, being retained.—Sir Thomas Bootle had been bred to the law, and secured for himself the most honourable distinction in his profession, and was Chancellor of Frederick Prince of Wales. He died a bachelor, and left his estates to his brother Robert, a distinguished naval officer in the East India Company's service, whose daughter Mary, and sole heiress, married Richard Wilbraham, Esq., of Kode Hall, M.P. for Chester, the lineal descendant of Sir Richard de Wilburgham, high-sheriff of Cheshire in 1295, and who, in compliance with the testamentary injunction of his wife's uncle, Sir Thomas Bootle, assumed the additional surname of Bootle, but his elder son, Edward, who succeeded to the family estates in 1796, and married, on the 19th of April of the same year, Mary-Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev. Edward Taylor, of Bifrons, and resumed by sign-manual, in 1814, the surname of Wilbraham, and in 1828 was raised to the peerage as Lord Skelmersdale, whose elder son was the Hon. Richard Bootle Wilbraham, of The Blythe, Lathom, M.P. for South Lancashire, who married Jessy, third daughter of Sir Richard Brooke, Bart., but who dying before his father, the first Lord Skelmersdale, the estates descended to his son Edward, the present Lord Skelmersdale, who was born 12th December, 1837, and married, in 1860, Alice, daughter of the fourth Earl of Clarendon. The other children of the first Lord and Lady Skelmersdale are Colonel the Hon. Edward Bootle-Wilbraham, late of the Coldstream Guards; the Hon. Mary-Charlotte Bootle-Wilbraham; and Emma-Caroline, the present Countess of Derby. Besides the present Lord Skelmersdale, the Hon. Richard Bootle-Wilbraham, M.P., eldest son of the first Lord Skelmersdale, left four still surviving daughters, namely, the Hon. Adela-Mary Bootle-Wilbraham, born 1834; the Hon. Jessy-Caroline Bootle-Wilbraham, born 1836; the Hon. Edith Bootle-Wilbraham, born 1840, and married, September 7th, 1859, at Lathom Chapel, to Ynyr-Henry Burges, Esq., only son of Mr. and Lady Caroline Burges, of Parkanau, Tyrone, Ireland, and grandson of Nathaniel Clements, second Earl of Leitrim; and the Hon. Rose Bootle-Wilbraham, born 1842.—The mansion of Lathom, as completed by Sir Thomas Bootle, consisted of a ground floor, principal, and attic, with a rusticated basement, having a double flight of steps to the first story, the steps at the south side being within, and those at the north without the mansion. In 1859-60, an additional story was erected on the middle portion of the edifice, extending to the south and north pediments, each tympanum being pierced with three round lights, by which arrangement thirteen more bedrooms were gained, as well as a great improvement in the external elevation of the mansion effected, and the external appearance of the south front was also further improved by the erection of a double flight of steps to the first story outside the mansion, similar to those on the north side. The south front is about 70 feet in depth, and, with the exception of the new story, has 11 windows on the first and second floor, and 13 on the third floor. The north front extends 156 feet, and on this side there are nine windows on each of the three stories. The double flight of steps on this side lead to the grand hall, under which is the entrance to the common hall. The north-front forms three sides of an open square, having east and west wings, facing each other (containing the offices), of large and uniform dimensions, which are joined to the mansion by two colonnades, supported by Ionic pillars. Each wing, in the centre, is surmounted by a tower, that on the east being the bell tower, and that on the west the clock tower. The grand hall is on the principal floor, being about 40 feet by 40 feet and 30 feet high, and is ornamented with twelve half columns of the Corinthian order, and also with paintings in *chiaroscuro*, by Goupy, the light and dark tints of which give to the apartment a most pleasing appearance. Adjoining the grand hall (to the south) is a handsome saloon, 40 feet by 24 feet and 24 feet in height. On the east side of the hall is the library, which is 50 feet by 21 feet; and the dining-room, on the west, which was formerly only 37 feet by 22 feet, was, during the recent alterations, greatly enlarged and tastefully decorated with columns of pilasters in the Corinthian order, composed of seagliola, in imitation of green marble, highly polished. Amongst the pictures at Lathom are some fine portraits, the principal of which are in the grand saloon just referred to, and include Sir Thomas Bootle, Knight of Melling and Chancellor to Frederick Prince of Wales, the Prince, and those of the principal personages of his court and party, including Charles (the Proud) Duke of Somerset, William Poulteney (Earl of Bath), and others.—Lathom Park is about seven or eight miles in circumference; and within it is a chapel,

having been previously enlarged for the reception of the King by the erection of a detached stone building with two round towers, at the south front, but now having the square tower (within which is the magnificent banquetting-hall) and the colonnade front on the east, and the stewards' offices on the west, the latter being connected to the mansion by a stone arch-way. Between the two round towers are contained the royal apartments, still distinguished by the name of "The King's Chambers." In 1552 the Knowsley estate was greatly increased by Edward, the third Earl of Derby, who received in exchange for his house in London, called Derby Place, considerable lands adjoining the old domain of Knowsley, as occupied by his ancestors. For many years, Edward and Henry, the third and fourth Earls of Derby, kept open three establishments in the county, these being Lathom House, the New Park, called Alton or Horton Castle,* and Knowsley, and took up their residence alternately at each of them, as is fully borne out by an entry in the "Household Diary" of Earl Henry, in December, 1586, which is as follows:—"On Satoreday the householde removed from Knowsley to the New P'ke," where it appears to have remained for six days, for on the following "Fryday the householde at the New P'ke brake vppe, and the stvffe† removed to Lathom," where the household spent the Christmas of that year.

Knowsley Park is the largest park in Lancashire, being

which, before the Reformation, seems to have been under the Priory of Benedictines at Upholland, but has since been the domestic chapel of Lathom. It is worthy of remark that, contrary to usual ecclesiastical arrangement, the altar is at the south end of the sacred edifice, and the bell-turret on the north. About thirty-five years ago, the old altar window of Lathom Chapel was removed to St. Paul's Church, Skelmersdale, the burial place of the Skelmersdale family, where it forms the east window. The chapel was put in its existing state by the late Lord Skelmersdale, the present altar window, as well as the others, which are remarkably neat, having been painted by the Honourable Mary-Charlotte Bootle-Wilbraham. Adjoining the chapel, at the north, are the alms houses, ten in number, four of which were built about 1792, by Sir Thomas Wilbraham-Bootle, father of the first Lord Skelmersdale; and adjoining the alms houses is a girls' school, a short distance from which, but outside the park, is a boys' school, both of which are supported at the sole expense of Lord Skelmersdale. In the park there is a trench, formed at the time of the siege, and cannon balls have been turned up in the adjoining grounds, and wooden tobacco pipes, which had been used by the soldiers during the siege, have also been discovered. Some years back, a stone coffin, containing the remains of a soldier buried during the siege was found in a delf, and whilst the recent alterations were being executed, the skeleton of another soldier was exhumed in the pleasure-grounds; and a window sill of old Lathom House was also discovered in the excavations adjoining the mansion at the time the late improvements were being made, and a piece of stone tracery of one of the windows of the old mansion was likewise found. Within the park are two excellent stone quarries, called the "Round O Delf" and the "Park Delf," which have supplied the stone for the alterations recently effected. The stone used in the erection of the mansion, as completed by Sir Thomas Bootle, was hewn from the Searisbrick quarry. The park is richly wooded, some of the trees being of large size and ancient growth; and some years back, in addition to the extensive coal mines, which have been for many years worked, a cannel mine was discovered on the estate, from which the gas consumed at the mansion is manufactured.

* See page 102.

† The "stvfte" here mentioned, no doubt, included the necessary food in store, wearing apparel, and such moveable furniture as might be required.

about thirteen miles in circumference, and having an area of about two thousand statute acres. Round the park are eleven elegant stone lodges, and, with the exception of the Liverpool lodge, all have large and ingeniously-wrought iron gates, by which entrance is gained into the park. The Liverpool approach lodge is the principal lodge, and is a massive and imposing structure, the ponderous oak doors being under a handsome arch, supported by a round tower on the right and a square tower on the left, and surmounted in the centre with the Derby arms and the family motto. Over the door of the side entrance of this lodge, which is under the square tower, is the following inscription—"Bring Good News, and Knock boldly."

The surface of the park is delightfully varied, and abounds in beautiful scenery—lawn and woodland alternating in picturesque variety, and clumps of majestic trees of ancient growth adorn the summits of verdant slopes, and broad avenues open up pleasing prospects. From the Stand-hill and the other more elevated positions, the spectator has a splendid view of the surrounding country; and, looking towards the sea, where the prospect is not intercepted, the scene which presents itself is most charmingly picturesque, and embraces St. George's Channel, Formby, Ormskirk, and the surrounding neighbourhood. The finest trees are in the Glade-woods, to the north of the Stand-hill, one of which is an object of special interest from the fact of its appearing to have been twisted in the stem, as by some "giant hand," from top to bottom. On the Prescott side from the Stand-hill are a number of fine old thorns, the great growth and beauty of which cannot fail to secure the attention of the visitor. Besides the rich plantations of stately trees with which the park is so tastefully decorated, a fine sheet of water, about ninety acres in extent, called the "Large Lake," or the "White Man's Dam,"* adorns the centre, being about a mile and a-half to the north-east of the mansion, not far from which, on a gentle slope, on the south-east, below the Stand-hill† stands the nude statue of "The White Man," which tradition says

* The embankment of this fine lake of water is raised to a great height, but is concealed by a thick plantation. About seventy-five years ago, owing to a severe storm, the embankment gave way, and the whole body of the lake rushed down in a torrent, carrying away trees, soil, and everything before it, and breaking down the embankments of the Mizzy and China Temple lakes in the pleasure-grounds, and threatening the south-front of the house, which only narrowly escaped. The water found its level in the meadows on the south-west of the mansion.

† Stand-hill receives its name from being the site of a square stone tower of considerable height, surmounted by a dome, and which is now used as an observatory, and serves as one of the landmarks to mariners entering Liverpool.

was found in the lake ; and on the west side of this large lake is the Boat-house, built of stone, the interior displaying on the panels of the wainscotting a fine array of oak carved work, which, with its rich collection of rustic and antique furniture and other contents, affords to the visitor a pleasing and instructive retreat. In addition to the lake, just noticed, but more south-east of the mansion, is the "Mizzy Dam ;" and at the south front of the hall, beyond the lawn and beautiful pleasure-grounds, which surround the south and east fronts of the mansion, is another fine lake, extending in width equal to the whole length of the mansion on that side, called "The China Temple Dam,"* which, like the Mizzy Dam, receives its water from the Large Lake or White Man's Dam. The gardens and pleasure-grounds are very extensive, and are laid out with great taste, being profusely decorated with the choicest of nature's ornaments and many valuable works of art,—the group of "Hercules and Antæus," competing in their giant strength, occupying a prominent position a few yards beyond the south-west side of the China Temple Dam. On this side also, and stretching beyond from west to east on the Prescot and Eccleston side, is the Deer-Park, with its bounding and roaming herds of red and fallow deer,—the whole presenting a picture of grandeur and loveliness far easier to conceive than describe.

The mansion may be described as consisting of two sides of a square, the main part, as it now stands, having been erected by James, the tenth Earl. The west, or carriage-approach front is composed of red brick, with stone quoins and dressings to the long range of numerous windows, which give to it a somewhat modern aspect, although including some of the most ancient portions of the edifice. This front is very extensive, and is disposed in three equal parts of uniform height, the main entrance being in the centre, gained by a double flight of steps to the principal floor : and the whole is surmounted with a balustrade and neat scroll ornaments. In this portion of the mansion are contained the spacious and princely magnificent drawing-rooms, and also the splendid

* This lake takes its name from an old temple, in the Chinese style, which stood on its banks, previously to the pleasure-grounds being modernized. At the time of the removal of this temple and the clearing out of the lake, a large gold cup and salver, of considerable antiquity, were found at the bottom of the lake. Whether the cup had been used as a wassail bowl in the temple, and by accident cast into the water, or whether it had been concealed there during the great Civil War, is not known. The salver fits on the top of the cup as a cover, and both are richly engraved, bearing Chinese ornaments and figures, those on the cup being a Chinese philosopher, reading, a Chinese officer, foliage, &c. ; and on the salver are three helmets, birds, and foliage. The weight of the cup and salver is 15oz., and both are of the finest gold.

picture gallery, with its rich and valuable treasures of artistic works. The east front, like the west front, is built of red brick, having stone dressings to the long range of windows similar to those on the opposite front. On this side of the edifice, and about the middle, is a projecting wing, forming the domestic chapel, which is entered from the interior of the mansion. The chapel has recently been refitted up in the Gothic style, the seats, which are of Dantzic oak, being very neat, and having on indented panels on the sides richly-carved foliage, differing on each. The pulpit stands at the east of the chapel, and is also of oak, and is very chaste in design and beautifully carved. On each side of the pulpit is a finely-carved old oak chair; and the mantel-piece, which is at the west and on the right of the entrance, is of variegated marble. The east side exhibits a longer façade than any other, extending the whole length of the building, and has a somewhat street-like appearance, terminating at one end with the south-east angle of the colonnade front, and at the other end with the north-east angle of that portion of the edifice north of the library, a portion of which was devoted to the museum of the late Earl of Derby. On this front of the mansion are the Derby and Hesketh arms, with the date 1704 between two coronets, and a stone tablet underneath the whole thus inscribed,—“Edward and Elizabeth, Earl and Countess of Derby.” In the garden, off the north-end of this front, stands the conservatory. The south front is built of red stone, and is in the castellated style of architecture, and has three distinct divisions, as already noticed, these being the colonnade front, which is the termination of the brick portion of the edifice; the massive square tower, forming the banquetting-hall; and the buildings with the two round towers comprising the King’s apartments, which, as originally built by Thomas, the first Earl of Derby, were detached from the the rest of the mansion, and included a drawing-room, dining-room, staircase, bed-chamber, dressing-room, page’s room, a bed-chamber for the lord chamberlain, and a dining-room for the principal officers of his Majesty’s household. The modern or red stone portion of this front was built by Edward, the twelfth Earl of Derby, for the reception of the Prince Regent, the tower forming the banquetting-hall being completed about 1821. This is the principal front of the mansion, and accords in style more than any other part with that of the old baronial halls of England. The colonnade portion of this front stands out more than the other parts, and is two stories high. The

colonnades are of stone, and painted, one being above the other. The base one is supported by six pair of columns of the Doric order, the spaces between the pillars being left open to the gravel walk, from which the floor of the colonnade is gained by the ascent of two steps. The columns of the upper colonnade, which rest on the plinths of those below, are also six in number, but of the Ionic order, and have a rail-work, breast high, between each two of the columns. On each side of the entrances, opposite the intervals between the pillars, are deep rounded recesses in which are seats. Over the entrance to the upper colonnade, which is from within, is a large and splendid gilt panel, inserted in the wall at the outside, bearing, in *basso-relievo*, the "Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise;" and above the centre of this upper colonnade are the arms of the family, resting on a large stone tablet, the latter bearing the following inscription:—

James Earl of Derby, Lord of Man and the Isles, Grandson of
James Earl of Derby, and of Charlotte, Daughter of Claude
Duke de la Tremouille; whose Husband James, was beheaded at
Bolton, xv Oct. MDCII,* for strenuously adhering to Charles the Second,
who refused† a Bill passed unanimously by both Houses of Parliament, for restoring
to the Family the Estate lost by his loyalty to him.

MDCXXXII.

In this south front, over another entrance, a fragment of the old mansion has been neatly introduced, on which are sculptured two of the badges of the Stanley family—the eagle's claw erased, and the three legs conjoined, armed, and spurred—the well-known ensign of the Kings of Man. The north front, which forms the wing of the west, or carriage-approach front, like the new portion of the opposite or south front, is built of red stone. This front too is two stories high. The upper story contains the "bachelors' apartments," and the lower one, the larders and other store-rooms. This front has a somewhat sombre appearance, though the prospect from the windows of the bachelors' apartments is very fine and picturesque.

Having given a brief outline of the exterior of the mansion, we will now proceed to notice summarily some of the principal apartments of the interior. Entering at the west vestibule, we are led into the hall, which is fitted up as a billiard-room; and, opposite this entrance, has just been erected a magnificent staircase, 30 feet by 27 feet, the whole being formed of richly-carved oak, and having a most imposing

* 1651.

† Possibly the word "refused" has reference to some hesitancy on the part of the King, as a bill was passed in the 16 and 17 Charles II. (1664-5) by which Charles, the eighth Earl of Derby, was "restored to blood."

appearance. To the right, or south side of the entrance-hall, are two splendid drawing-rooms, *en suite*, each having four windows, the splendour and magnitude of which are quite in character with the mansion. The walls are profusely decorated with a fine display of costly pictures, the most prominent of which is that highly-finished and valuable painting, "Belshazzar's Feast," by Rembrandt, in which the figure of the king is truly majestic, and his attitude and alarmed countenance, as seen below his high and curious turban, strongly indicative of his surprise at, and concernment as to the meaning of the "handwriting" which has so unexpectedly appeared before him on the wall. From the second drawing-room the stucco-gallery is entered, the walls of which are also hung with paintings by the first masters. This gallery terminates in a handsome mahogany staircase, which leads to apartments called the "mahogany chambers," from the wainscoting and furniture being all of solid mahogany. At this point the house ends in the handsome colonnade front, already noticed. From the stucco-gallery on the right, entrance is gained into the stucco-room, so named from its walls being ornamented with that material. The walls of this beautiful white marble-like apartment display medallions bearing the heads of the twelve Cæsars, the great philosopher Locke, and other celebrated characters, in *basso-relievo*. The ceiling also is adorned with various devices, and the cornices are remarkably neat. This magnificent saloon was built and fitted up as a ball-room by James, the tenth Earl of Derby, but the apartment is now used, in common with those just named, as a drawing-room. From this apartment access is had to the King's chambers, and here, in the royal bed-chamber, is a handsome bedstead, which, besides other distinctions of royalty, bears on the top of the footboard a large Prince of Wales feather in gold, the drapery being crimson velvet. These apartments were occupied by the Prince Regent, afterwards King George IV., while on his visit at Knowsley to the twelfth Earl of Derby. In this room is hung, with others, an interesting painting, the subject of which is the celebrated Countess Charlotte de la Tremouille receiving the "last message" from Colonel Rigby during the siege of Lathom House, in which the bearer of the message is brought blindfolded into the presence of the Countess, who, after reading the document, tears it, and indignantly dismisses the "foolish instrument of a traitor's pride" with a disdainful scorn.* The two adjoining apartments, the

* See page 129.

royal dressing-room and sitting-room, also contain many valuable paintings, the latter receiving the name of "the miniature room," its walls being hung with many valuable miniature portraits, some being Vandykes painted on ivory, amongst which are those of Queen Elizabeth, Charles I., Cromwell, and other distinguished personages.

Retracing our steps, we now proceed to the banquetting-hall, which was built by Edward, the twelfth Earl of Derby, the work being completed in or about the year 1821. This apartment, in which are held the festive celebrations of the Derby line of the noble House of Stanley, is contained within the massive stone tower at the south front of the mansion, as already stated, and is one which crowned heads would be proud to possess. This gorgeous and magnificent apartment is entered by a massive double door of beautifully carved oak, about sixteen feet in height. The hall is very spacious, and is fitted up in the Gothic style. It is about fifty feet high to the ceiling, which is pierced in the centre by a capacious and beautiful lantern light, through which and the fine window on the south is admitted an effulgence of light into the apartment; and from the centre of the lantern light is suspended an elegant chandelier. The furniture is all of massive oak, richly carved, and is fashioned to, and strictly harmonises with the hall. The most prominent piece of furniture is a magnificent and elaborately-carved oak side-board, of considerable antiquity, occupying a position on the west side of the apartment; and there are also in the room two other large sideboards at the north end, one being on each side of the entrance; and immediately opposite the entrance stands a large and beautiful screen, bearing Chinese figures. Two large and elegant fireplaces, one on the east and the other on the west side of the hall, having pure white marble mantels, impart an air of homeliness and comfort to the surrounding grandeur, which is greatly enhanced by the rich drapery and artistic decorations, all being highly and pleasingly appropriate in taste and character. In this banquetting-hall are treasured a numerous and valuable collection of family portraits, including those of the whole of the deceased Earls of Derby and their Countesses. In viewing this matchless collection of family portraits, one cannot fail to have the attention drawn specially to those of Thomas, the first Earl of Derby, and his Countess, Margaret of Lancaster, the mother of Henry VII., who is represented as the very personification of a saint dead to the world, with uplifted hands

in the attitude of deep devotion, and having her breviary laid open on a cushion before her; and also to those of James, the martyred Earl, and his illustrious and heroic Countess, Charlotte de la Tremouille, and to that of her mother, Charlotte Brabantine de Nassau. Several of the portraits at Knowsley are by Holbeins, Vandyke, Sir Peter Lely, Reynolds, and other great masters. The walls of the banquetting-hall are also adorned with four other valuable pictures, painted on leather, by Burgoyne, the subjects being "The Passage of the Red Sea," "The Journey towards the Land of Promise," "Moses, with Aaron and Hur, on Mount Horeb, interceding with God on behalf of the Israelites who are fighting with the Amalekites at Rephidim," and "Joshua commanding the Sun." These pictures are very large and beautifully framed, and are hung over, and north of, the fire-places, on each side. In addition to the portraits already noticed, the Knowsley collection includes a third fine portrait of the Countess Charlotte de la Tremouille, in which she is represented in her widow's weeds, and which shows, as Canon Raines observed, at the annual meeting of the Chetham Society, in 1864, that "she retained the peculiar features of her character even in her old age;" and there has also been recently found at Knowsley, and rescued from partial obscurity, owing to the kindness of the present Earl of Derby to the Chetham Society, a fine portrait, by Dobson, of Archdeacon Rutter, the celebrated chaplain to the seventh Earl and his Countess, who acted so conspicuous and faithful a part during the memorable siege of Lathom House and the trying events subsequent thereto.

The superb collection of pictures which adorn the walls of the picture-gallery (which is ninety feet by eleven feet), the drawing-rooms, and almost every other apartment of the mansion, is too extensive to enumerate. Amongst this vast collection of paintings, however, may be mentioned—Seneca in the Bath, by Rubens; Augurs prophesying from the Flight of Birds, by Salvator Rosa; Glaucus and Scylla, by the same master; Christ and the Woman of Samaria, a beautiful and highly finished picture, by Vanderwert; Christ delivering the Keys to Peter; Dead Christ, by Vandyke; Angel's Head, by Guido; Head of John the Baptist in a Charger; Hercules and Antæus, by Rubens; Procession to the Temple of Apollo at Delphos, by Claude; The Expulsion from Eden; Madona and Child, by Correggio; The Feast of Levi, by Paul Veronese; a highly-coloured Venus, and the Amours of Cupid

and Psyche, both by Cheron; Rape of the Sabines, after Rubens; Wild Boar Hunt, the man being by Rubens, the animals by Sneyders; Group of Zebras; several sea pieces, by Vanderveldt, Monamy, and De Long; and three pictures of Knowsley as the mansion *has* been. There are also in the Knowsley collection many other valuable paintings by Teniers, Correggio, Pousin, Claude Lorraine, Salvator Rosa, and other eminent masters. As already mentioned,* the works of the old masters were, for the most part, brought from the Continent at the expense of James, the tenth Earl of Derby, by Hamlet Winstanley, a native of Warrington, who is said to have etched no less than twenty of the finest of these paintings in 1729, under the patronage of Earl James.

The corridors and staircases also display numerous antlered trophies of the chase, whose histories are connected with kings and princes and other distinguished visitors at Knowsley and Lathom. Throughout the mansion, the furniture is remarkably chaste, and strictly harmonises with each apartment. In speaking of the furniture, we must not omit to mention two large and elaborately-carved oak cupboards, one of which bears the date of 1501, and has several Scripture pieces carved on its panels and other parts in *alto-relievo*. There is also another carved-oak sideboard worthy of notice, the carving of which is by the Countess of Charles, the eighth Earl, and bears on the front the following inscription, in large characters,—“Helena, Countess of Derby.”

The library is on the left or north side of the entrance-hall on the west, and contains a large and valuable collection of books, which are under the care of a librarian. The library also contains an extensive and curious collection of old prints and manuscripts, and drawings by the best ancient masters; and here are also treasured, in beautiful order, a valuable and interesting collection of family portraits in neat cases, with a short biographical notice written on the back of each. Here, too, we must not omit to mention, is a very interesting relic of James, the martyred Earl, being the chair on which the Earl seated himself immediately after ascending the scaffold, previously to his execution.—(See page 223.) The chair is oak, having a low carved back, and spiral spindles. The chair has been presented to the present Earl of Derby, and bears the following inscription, on a silver plate, at the back,—“This Chair of the Great Earl of Derby at his martyrdom was presented by James Hardcastle, of Bolton-le-

* See page 258.

Moors, Esquire, to the Right Hon. Edward-Geoffrey, Earl of Derby."

The interior arrangements of the mansion afford every accommodation and comfort, each department being replete with every modern improvement. Adjoining the library are large suites of apartments occupied by the family; and in rear of the entrance-hall is a staircase communicating with a corridor which runs nearly the whole length of the mansion, being lighted by sky-lights, and having a range of doors on each side opening to sleeping apartments.

The present stables and coach-house at Knowsley, erected about fourteen years ago by the late Earl, at an expense of £30,000, form a magnificent building, and are the largest in all Lancashire, probably in England, and are fitted up with every modern appointment. This equine palace stands off the north end of the mansion, almost in a line with the large lake, between which formerly stood the famous aviary and menagerie of the late Earl.

To give even a summary of the interesting objects in and around the noble mansion of Knowsley would require a volume itself, therefore we desist, and bring our notice of Knowsley to a close with the following extract from an interesting poem "On Knowsley," from the pen of an unknown author, about the year 1760:—

Whilst nature's face diffusive joys o'erspread,
And the gay Spring in verdure lifts its head,
Whilst all around enlivening scenes appear,
And recent honours deck the blooming year.
E'en my cold breast the genial season knows,
And through my veins life revels as it flows.
Delightful forms before my fancy play,
And joy spontaneous pours the tuneful lay.

Let youthful bards when candidates for fame
Imagin'd ardour from their "Phœbus" claim;
Let them in verse laborious wing their flight,
And pant to gain Parnassus' tow'ring height;
Disdain, my muse, such low fantastic aids,
As streams of Helicon, and Pindus' shades;
To *Knowsley* all those beauteous scenes belong,
Which charm the poet, and adorn his song;
Sweetness the song, the poet must have praise,
Who tunes, whilst Derby smiles, his grateful lays.

Delightful objects here around me rise,
At once exalt my fancy and surprise;
Here art and nature amicably join,
This nobly great—that regularly fine.
Hence opening vales extensive prospects show,
Till hills o'er hills arising, bound the view.
Here blooms a grove, there laughs a verdant mead,
Here spouts a fount, there rolls a loud cascade.
New columns here the chastest rules refine,
And recent domes in splendid structure shine;
Memorial lines, on high the summit grace,
A hero's glory, but a king's disgrace.
How *DERBY* arm'd, the just inscription shows,
In Charles's cause, to tame the rebellious foes,

Serenely brave, he join'd th' unequal strife,
There lost his fortune, liberty, and life.
How didst thou, Charles, repay so vast a debt?
Repay thou could'st not, therefore—didst forget.

An injur'd offspring, an ungrateful king,
Sad themes! to verse no decoration bring;
More grateful objects here the senses find,
Whilst glad amusements brighten to the mind.

What varied sweets perfume the ambient air,
Shot from the bosom of yon gay parterre!
Here blooming flow'rs their painted heads unfold,
Luscious to smell, and splendid to behold;
Here colour all its gaudy pride displays,
In bright reflections and distinguished rays,
Colour, whose magic laws the sight beguile,
Bid nature flourish, and creation smile.

What guides the leaf to catch the solar ray,
What to refract, and what reflect the day;
From what deep source the strange appearance flows,
When each fair texture variously glows;
How dart the beams on pores how nicely laid
Whilst these fly from them, and whilst those pervade,
The deep research the muse attempts in vain,
It mocks her labour and chides her pain;
Nature unveil'd alone can NEWTON show,
Alone disclose her mysteries to view;
NEWTON, whose name shall deck Britannia's shore
Till time, and light, and colour be no more!

Thus lavish nature decks the blissful scene
Without, whilst art triumphant reigns within:
Each shining piece for fixed attention calls,
Where Roman artists decorate the walls;
Here Bassan gladdens, and Correggio charms;
There Paulo elevates, and Titian warms;
What heighten'd gustos, and what grand designs!
How strong th' expression, and how bold the lines!
See lights and shades, life, motion, passion give,
And still in paint, kings, heroes, sages live!
Some great event each pregnant piece displays,
And useful pleasure to the mind conveys.

There infant Rome sends forth her youthful train,
To feastful combat on the insidious plain;
Drawn by the novel rites, the Sabine fair,
The destin'd prizes of the day, appear;
Each warrior eyes an amiable prey,
Waits for the sign, then bears a prize away.

There god-like Seneca, in death sedate,
Rises superior, and looks down on fate;
Through lengthen'd wounds his gaping veins divide,
Doth still retain the crimson vital tide,
His blood, as willing Nero to confound,
Flows from the sluice, and stagnates in the wound.

Here draws the eye a venerable scene,
Where Rome in pompous solitude is seen;
Whose splendid piles august in ruin nod,
And sculptur'd columns bend beneath their load.

There in the clouds with hoary time, appear
Devouring famine and destructive war.
But partial causes these, whose noxious force
Labour suspends, till valour stops their course.
Paint artist there, chain'd minds, and exil'd hopes,
Paint friars, jesuits, cardinals and popes;
Those plague and pass—these sure destruction bring—
They taint the climate, and they blast the spring.

Monsters in paint as nature still offend,
Wonder we may, but never can commend.
Whence then this motly crew of lustful fawns,
Of goats, and satyrs bounding o'er the lawns,
Alike the poet as the painter nods,
In wanton goddesses, and drunken gods.

Picture, like verse, should warm but not inflame,
 Should mend the heart, but rebel passions tame;
 Satire than truth more proselytes will gain,
 And jest prevail, when doctors preach in vain.
 In just resemblance Hogarth thus arrays,
 And nymphs of Drury to themselves displays,
 The loathsome progress all with horror see,
 How black they are, how wretched soon must be,
 In each black soul successive terrors dwell,
 Of Chartres, Gonson, Misaubin, and hell.

For virtue's aid was each bright talent giv'n,
 And skill and genius, donatives of heaven;
 For this each artist should exert his fire,
 And this high object bold attempts inspire!
 For this the sage should spend his midnight oil,
 Should bards indite, should politicians toil;
 Heroes for this laborious fields sustain,
 And front the horrors of th' embattl'd plain.
 Hence wreaths immortal crown'd great William's head,
 For tyrants vanquish'd, and for nations freed;
 Hence DERBY fought for conscience, right and law,
 For virtue, freedom, Britain and Nassau.
 DERBY, whose praise the advent'rous muse would claim,
 But sinks, unequal to th' important theme.
 Her thoughts no longer will expression meet,
 Mute and confused she owns the task too great!

THE BURIAL PLACES OF THE EARLS OF DERBY.

To omit all notice of the final resting places of the mortal remains of the illustrious race of the Stanleys, Earls of Derby, would leave the present sketch of the House of Stanley shorn of one of its not least interesting associations; therefore, it is proposed to notice, somewhat briefly, those two hallowed spots in which the Earls of Derby and their ancestors have been sepulchred during the last seven hundred years—these being Burscough Priory, previously to the death of Edward, the third Earl, and Ormskirk Parish Church, up to the present time.

BURSCOUGH PRIORY.

I do love these ancient ruynes;
 We never tread upon them but we set
 Our foote upon some reverend history;
 And questionless have in this open court
 (Which now lies naked to the injuries
 Of stormy weather) some men lie interred,
 Loved the Church as well, and gave as largely to't.
 They thought it should have canopied their bones
 Till Domesday; but all things have their end;
 Churches and cities (which have diseases like to men)
 Must have like Death that we have.—

Webster's Duchess of Malfi.

Burscough Priory, or as it is sometimes called "Burscough Abbey," was situate in the beautiful and fertile vale of the township of Burscough, being about two miles east of Ormskirk, and one mile and a half north-east of Lathom House; and the ruins of it, as they now stand, cannot fail to arrest the attention of travellers on the East Lancashire

section of the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway, from which they are only about 100 yards distant on the south side of the line of rails, and about a quarter of a mile from the Burscough Toll-gate on the Liverpool and Preston Turnpike road.*

The Priory of Burscough was founded for the order of Black Canons, in the reign of Richard I., its founder being Robert Fitz-Henry, Lord of Lathom, son of Henry de Torbock and Lathom, supposed to be a descendant from Orm; and Britton, in his *Beauties of Lancashire*, observes that its noble founder "endowed it with considerable property, emoluments, and alms; and, according to the weak superstition of the age, thought thereby to obtain pardon and rest for the souls of Henry the Second, John, Earl of Moreton, himself, his wife, and those of his ancestors; at the same time wishing the kingdom of Heaven to all persons who would increase the gift; and giving to the Devil and his Angels all who should impiously infringe on his bequests."

The priory claimed the patronage of St. Nicholas as its tutelar saint; and an effigy of that saint is said to have been carved over the south porch of the priory church with two or three naked children at his feet.† Impressions of the common seal of this religious house are still in existence. The area of the seal had two compartments, the upper one bearing the figure of a canon, in a square cap, instructing a child; and the lower, that of St. Nicholas, and round the area this inscription, "Sigill. sci. Nicholai. de. Bvriskov. + "‡ According to Britton, whose description seems borne out by what still remains of its venerable ruins, the edifice was not large, but its architecture was chaste and beautiful, and was a noble specimen of the early Gothic, which had then superseded the heavy specimens of the Anglo-Norman era. Its form appears to have been that of a cross, exhibiting a beautiful tower over the points of intersection, peculiar to that form of ecclesiastical edifice; its arches sharply pointed; and its windows deeply recessed, narrow and lancet-shaped; and the slender shafts of the columns carried in clusters to a great height, and surmounted by pinnacles of rich and elegant tracery.

The priory is said to have flourished 350 years previously to

* Leland, the famous topographer, thus alludes to Burscough Priory:—"Buiscow, a Priory of Blake chanons of the fundation of the Erles of Darby, a mile from Lathom. It standeth not very far from Duggils. Many of the Line of the Erles of Darby lyith here."

† The head of the effigy of the saint formerly occupied a position on the wall at the front of the abbey farm house, near to the gate, but was afterwards displaced, and lay about for many years, and often used as a "scotch" for cart wheels.

‡ See *Dugdale's Monasticon*.



Dessin by G. Bickering

Engraved by J. P. 1796

1536, about which date it shared the fate of the other monastic institutions of the country, thus carrying its foundation back to about the year 1186. At the time of its dissolution, the house maintained a prior, and five canons of the Augustine order, and forty servants, and was endowed, according to Speed, with an annual revenue of £129 1s. 10s.,* the value of which may be estimated when it is stated that in those days a moderate salary for a clergyman was £6 13s. 4d., and an ample salary, £8 a year.†

* Dugdale states it at £80; and, according to another valuation, £122 5s. 7d.

† The property and emoluments appertaining to the Priory of Burscough, as given by its founder, are thus specified in the charter of endowment:—"All that land in the head of Burscough, by the boundaries of the land of Stephen Calvus to Egeacres, between the highway of Wirpil Mosse, Egeacresbrook [Ellerbrook], and thence by the brook to the boundary between Ormskirk and Brakenhtwayte [Bickerstaffe]; and so to Scarth [Scarth-hill]; and from Westhed [Westhead]; and from Westhed to the brook of Seakerdaleved [Skelmersdale] Head; and so by the brook to the ford from Alton [Aughton] to Urleton [Hurleston]. He also gave the wood of Grytteby [Greetby Hill] and the land of Robert Carpenter and others, the whole town of Merton [new Martin-lane, in Burscough], Therlescogh [Tarlescogh], and the churches of Ormskirk, Huton, and Flixton, the mill of Lathom, the place of St. Leonards, in Knouselegh [probably Knowsley], a plenary court, with all the liberties which he himself had, besides woods, common pasture, mast of oaks, and other rural privileges, for the soul of King Henry the younger; John, Earl of Mortune; his own father and mother, ancestors, and posterity." This ancient document concludes with the following peculiar anathema and benediction, which are somewhat more comprehensive than as given by Britton:—"That whosoever shall enlarge or maintain these alms might enter into the Kingdom of Heaven; and whosoever should attempt to violate or infringe them might be subjected to eternal torment with the devil and his angels unless he should come to amendment and satisfaction." One of the witnesses to this document is Henry de Redecleve, who was a prominent personage in the reign of Henry II. According to an "Insepimus," contained in the charter of 17th Edward II., Burscough Priory was further enriched by Walter, Lord of Scarisbreck [Scarisbrick], who granted to it "two acres of meadow land, measured by the perche of 22 feet, lying between his cultivated land and house, and formerly belonging to his brother, Adam de Hokynhead; also his land at Hurleton [Hurleston] with the appurtenances, and the liberties of the town; and also his land Hantksheved, with common of pasture, and the liberties belonging to the town of Hantksheved. From him descended James Scaresbreke, who, by an inquisition 4th Henry VII., was found to have held the manor of Scaresbrek, and lands in Hurdelton, Burscough, Eggergarth, Aghton, Ormeskyrk, Bretherton, and Snape." Burscough seems also to have enjoyed the favours of royalty, for we are told that Edward II. granted twenty marks per annum, (as recited in a licence 20th Edward III.), to the Prior of Burscough to purchase from Gilbert de Haydocke a messuage and lands in Ormskirk, and which they held by lease in the 18th year of the reign of Edward III. The prior and canons had also licence to hold a market and fairs in the manor of Ormskirk, which Henry, Duke of Lancaster, confirmed in the fourth year of his Dukedom. The chartulary of Burscough Priory is preserved in the office of the Duchy of Lancaster, and is published in *Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum*, in Latin, the following being the title of, and the confirming charter of Edward II. respecting the fair and markets to be held at Ormskirk:—"Carta Regis Edwardi Secundi, Donatorum Concessionibus recitens et confirmans.—'Edwardus Dei gratia rex Angliæ, dominus Hiberniæ et dux Aquitaniæ, archiepiscopis, &c. Insepimus cartam quam celebris memorie dominus Edwardus, quondam rex Angliæ, pater noster, fecit dilectis nobis in Christo priori et conventui de Burscough, in hæc verba. 'Edwardus Dei gratia rex Angliæ, dominus Hiberniæ, et dux Aquitaniæ, archiepiscopis, &c. Sciatis nos concessisse et hac carta nostrâ confirmâsse dilectis nobis in Christo priori et conventui de Burscough, quod ipsi et successores sui in perpetuum habeant unum mercatum singulis septimanis per diem Jovis apud manerium suum de Ormeschirehe in comitatu Lancastriæ; et unam feriam ibidem singulis annis per quinque dies duraturam, videlicet in vigilia et in die et in crastino decollationis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, et per duos dies sequentes, nisi mereatum illud et feria illa sint ad nocumentum vicinorum mercatorum, et vicinarum feriarum. Quare volumus, &c. Hiis testibus venerabilibus patribus Roberto Bathoniensi et Wellensi, Willielmo Norwycensi, Godefrido Wygornensi episcopis; Edmundo fratre nostro, Willielmo de Valencia avunculo nostro, &c. Data per manum nostram apud Westmonasterium vicesimo octavo die Aprilis anno regni nostri quarto decimo.'"—In English the foregoing royal charter will read thus:—"Charter of King Edward the Second, reciting and confirming the Grants of the Donors. 'Edward, by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, Archbishop, &c. We have seen the charter which our Lord Edward of famous memory, formerly King of England, our father, made to our beloved in Christ, the Prior and Convent of Burscough, in these words,—'Edward, by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and

With the troubles of the other monastic institutions of the country came those also of the Priory of Burscough. In 1510, being the second year of the reign of Henry VIII., an inventory (preserved in the office of the Duchy of Lancaster) was taken "of the plate, furniture, bedding, and household stuff, cattle, provender, or vestments belonging to the house of Burscough;" and twenty-five years after this, in 27th Henry VIII., the Priory of Burscough had a more serious visitation, on which occasion "the Royal Commissioners, in their report to the King, returned that the priory was founded by the Earl of Derby, and that Hugh Woodhewer, the Prior, was living with a woman in a state of incontinency." How long the church and convent of Burscough were allowed to remain after this is not precisely known; but subsequently to this date appear the names of two other priors of Burscough, one being Hugh Hucklesley, whose funeral is recorded in the Burial Register of Ormskirk Parish Church thus, "1558. May 2. Ser Hugh Hucklesley Prior of Burscough, in this church." This Hugh Hucklesley appears to have resigned his cure, and to have been succeeded as prior by John Barton,* who surrendered the Convent at the dissolution and subscribed to the King's supremacy, and was living in 1553, and obtained a pension out of the revenues of the house, after its dissolution, of £13 6s. 8d. per annum, besides other payments; and Hugh Hucklesley also received an annual pension of £13 6s. 8d. from the same source.

As already noticed, from its foundation to its dissolution, the church of Burscough Priory was the burial place of the Lathoms and their successors, the Stanleys of Lathom, Earls of Derby, but the reader must not expect to find at Burscough any trace of such sepulchre. We are not, however, left in

Duke of Aquitaine, Archbishop, &c. Know ye that we have granted, and by this our charter have confirmed to our beloved in Christ, the Prior and Convent of Burscough, that they and their successors for ever may have a market every seventh day, on Thursday, at their manor of Ormskirk, in the county of Lancaster; and a fair at the same place every year of five days' duration, namely, on the eve and on the day, and on the morrow of the beheading of Saint John the Baptist, and for two days following, unless that market and that fair should be to the injury of neighbouring markets and neighbouring fairs.—Whereof we will, &c. In witness these venerable fathers, Robert of Bath and Wells, William of Norwich, Godfrey of Worcester, bishops; Edmund, our brother; William de Valencia, our uncle, &c.—Given under our hands, at Westminster, the twenty-eighth day of April, in the fourteenth year of our reign."—In the Chetham Library, at Manchester, is a manuscript, shewing an undated claim from Hector, prior of Burscough, to have a market every week, on Thursday, in his manor of Ormskirk; one fair of five days' duration, and a second fair on Tuesday, in October, with an assize of bread and beer, and all kinds of victuals and measures within the town.—Thursday is still the market-day; but the fairs at Ormskirk are now held on Whit-Monday and Tuesday and the following Thursday; and on the 10th and 11th of September, and Thursday following.

* Of the other priors of Burscough very little is known. In a charter of Edward II. occurs the name of a Gamellus de Pennington as prior of Burscough, which is a familiar name in the neighbourhood of Ormskirk; and it is recorded that a Thomas de Litherland, prior of Burscough in 1348, who had committed a rape on Margerie de la Beech, and also murdered Michael de Poininges and Thomas le Clarke, had the King's pardon, 21 Edward III.—See *Calend. Rotulo Patents*, folio 155.

doubt as to where the vault was in which rested the ashes of the members of this illustrious family, for Thomas, the first Earl of Derby, in his will, bequeathed his "body to be buried in the midst of the chapell in the North Ile of the Church of the Priory of Burscough;" and in his will he also names the position to be occupied by the effigies of the personages which he "caused to be made."* After the dissolution of Burscough Priory many of the bodies were removed from the vault at Burscough to the vault in the Derby Chapel at Ormskirk Church, built by Edward, the third Earl of Derby; and two pairs of the effigies and three family armorial mural panels, which latter, no doubt, were inserted in the walls of the family chapel in Burscough Priory Church, were also removed to the Ormskirk Parish Church, which we shall have to notice further presently.†

Of the once-famous Priory of Burscough there are now standing only two clustered pillars or piers of the central north arch of the church, which, with the corresponding arches, long since ruthlessly swept away, supported the tower, from which, it is interesting to reflect, have often sounded, on souls leaving their earthly tabernacle,‡ the rich, deep tones of the great tenor bell, now at Ormskirk Church. The east one of the two piers now standing has, on the east of it, a portion of the north wall of the chancel remaining, and on the north of it, one side of the east window of the north transept, and, at the bottom, on the north-west of this pier is a canopied recess, in an excellent state of preservation, in which originally stood the piscina, through which the water was poured away with which the chalice had been rinsed out after the celebration of the Holy Eucharist. These, with the large octagonal christening font, which lies under the pantry window of the adjoining farm house, and now used as a mash vessel for pigs' food, and a few modern gravestones,§ and here

* See page 42.

† In one of the Harleian MSS., No. 604, is the certificate of the value of the lesser Religious Houses of the country, in which it is certified that the "Bells, Lede, and Goodes of Burscough were valued at £cxxx. ijs viiid." What became of the furniture, painted windows, &c., after the dissolution, or the precise site of the priory house, is not known.

‡ The tolling of bells for the dead in England appears to have been in vogue before the beginning of the eighth century." The 67th canon of the Church of England, in reference to the passing bell, is as follows, which shews that the very reasonable and original custom is not now strictly observed:—"When any is passing out of this life, a bell shall be tolled, and the minister shall not then slack to do his last duty. And after the party's death, if it so falls out, there shall be rung no more but one short peal, and one other before the burial, and one other after the burial." It was customary in former days to ring church bells when persons were about to expire, in order to warn the Church to pray for them.

§ The burial ground of Burscough Priory was used as a place of interment up to about the middle of the last century, as a headstone, now standing between the two remaining piers, and bearing the following inscription, shews:—"Ann Cooper Died ye 17 of April, 1752," near to which is another gravestone bearing the date of "1715."

and there a piece of carved stone in the wall enclosing the hallowed precincts, are the only memorials remaining at Burscough of its once-famous priory, where many members of its noble founder's family had found a final resting place, and where numerous guests at Lathom, of princely and knightly rank—many of whom had fought and hazarded their lives at Agincourt, Cressy, and Flodden, and in the Wars of the Roses—had joined in the religious devotion of prayer and praise; and where, no doubt, that saintly Princess, Margaret of Lancaster, the first Countess of Derby and mother of Henry VII., had joined in public worship and the hymn of praise to the Beneficent First Cause and Disposer of all things.

ORMSKIRK CHURCH.

Every view of the subject goes to favour the opinion that the town of Ormskirk derives its name from its church; so that it may fairly be concluded that, prior to the foundation of *Orm's kirk*, or Orm's church, no town, manor, or village was known in Lancashire as Ormskirk; and this satisfactorily accounts for the fact of Ormskirk not appearing in the Domesday Survey, the locality now known as Ormskirk being then the western extremity of Latune (Lathom), which may be found in the Domesday Book.* The circumstance of no allusion to Ormskirk being found in the Domesday Book, which was not completed until 1086, and as it is pretty conclusively ascertained that Burscough Priory was founded about the year 1186, an earlier date must be claimed for Ormskirk than for Burscough Priory, as Robert Fitz-Henry, Lord of Lathom, the founder of Burscough Priory, gave Ormskirk, which he appears to have inherited from his ancestor, Orm, as part of the endowment of Burscough Priory.† Granting that Robert Fitz-Henry was a descendant of the Orms, and the inheritor of their possessions in this locality, there can be nothing unreasonable in fixing the date of the foundation of Orm's kirk, or church, about the end of the eleventh or the

* This remarkable book, sometimes called *Rotulus Wintonie*, was framed by order of William the Conqueror, and was the book upon which judgment was to be given upon the value, tenures, and services of the land therein contained. Lancashire does not appear under its proper name; but Furness and the northern part of the county, the south of Westmoreland, and part of Cumberland are included within the West Riding of Yorkshire; and that part of Lancashire which lies between the Mersey and the Ribble, and which at the time of the survey included six hundreds, and eighty-eight manors, of which Latune was one, is subjoined to Cheshire. The Domesday Book is said to derive its name from having been laid up in the King's treasury in the church of Winchester or Westminster, called "*Domus Dei*" (God's house) hence the name Domesday.

† See page 314.

beginning of the twelfth century; and, probably, there is more truth in the tradition, that it was built by two maiden sisters of the great Orm family, than many persons seem inclined to admit.* Some historians, however, give Orm† himself, the proprietor of Halton, the honour of having erected the church shortly after the Conquest, who, being driven from his estates in Cheshire, afterwards settled in Lancashire, having married Alice, the daughter of Hervens, a Norman nobleman, ancestor of Theobald Walter, by whom he obtained large estates in Lancashire. But whether the church was originally built by Orm himself, or by his two female descendants, it possesses something of the Saxon-Norman style and strength; and the lower portion of the massive tower and the tower portion of the present spire, probably the oldest parts of the existing edifice, correspond with the church architecture immediately following the reign of William II., which is a point strongly corroborative of the assumption that Ormskirk church was erected about the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century, as already inferred. Granting this, Orm's kirk would not be the first or only church in the neighbourhood, for, not to mention others, on the site of

* The tradition states that Ormskirk Church was built by two maiden sisters of the name of Orm, who, when they came to consider the steeple part of the structure whether it should have a tower or a spire, could not agree, but afterwards accommodated their difference of choice by giving to it both,—hence the singular adornment of Orm's kirk with a tower and a spire.

† Some writers, and Baines among the number, have adopted the opinion that Orm was a Saxon, and is by them called the "Saxon proprietor of Halton." The ethnologist, however, will be loath to grant that Orm was a Saxon; and it must be remembered that when the country was divided between the Saxons and the Danes, after the struggle between Edmund and Canute, the Saxons held the counties south, and the Danes those north of the Thames. In *Marryat's Jutland of the Danish Isles*, vol. i., p. 186, we are assured that Orm is Danish, signifying in English "worm." The name appears to have been borne by one of the oldest families in Denmark, a family now extinct, or nearly so, in that country. Then again, the word "kirk" is Danish for the Saxon word *cyrcce*, or English church. The fact of Ormskirk having two steeples is also very significant when coupled with the Danish name Orm, for there is a Danish "Legend of the Two Church Towers," the dates of which two Danish church towers and that of the foundation of Ormskirk Church are remarkable co-incidents. The legend is as follows:—"Sir Asker Ryg, son of Skialm Hvide, was a knight of large possessions, and dwelt near the village of Fiennesleville. One day when about to start for the war, he first went into the little church to pray, and greatly scandalised was he to find the doorway so low that he was compelled to bow his head on entering therein: the roof, too, was of black straw, and the damp and green mould hung to the crumbling walls. Greatly shocked was Sir Asker Ryg; perhaps had he been more regular in his attendance he would have already discovered the dilapidated state of the building; so previous to his starting he gave directions to his wife, the fair lady Inge, at that time in an interesting condition, to rebuild the church during his absence, and if she were brought of a boy to erect a lofty church tower, if only a girl, a spire. The lady Inge promised obedience to the wishes of her lord, and off he goes, followed by a numerous train of squires, to fight the battles of his country, and perform prodigies of valour. When the war is at an end he bends his way homewards, and on approaching Fiennesleville his impatience is so great he outsteps all his train, and arrives first alone on the brow of the hill which overhangs the village: he strains his eyes and sees not one tower but two,—the lady Inge has given birth to twin boys during his absence,—and on arriving at his castle, half mad with joy, he embraced his wife, exclaiming, 'Oh, thou noble lady Inge; thrice honoured be thou, thou art a Dannewif!' (a woman who first bears twin sons to her husband is termed a Dannewif). These twins grew up to be the most celebrated characters of their century. Absolon became in 1158 Bishop of Roskilde, and was afterwards Archbishop of Land and Esbern Snare."

St. Nicholas' Church, at Liverpool, stood the chapel of Our Lady, which was erected about the year 1050.*

The parish church of Ormskirk stands at the north of the town, its massive embattled tower and pointed spire, side by side, being prominent objects from the market cross. The edifice is dedicated to Saints Peter and Paul, which circumstance suggests the question whether the edifice was not originally built with a tower and a spire, and whether this peculiar double dedication was not suggested by the tower and the spire. Of course it is not now possible to solve these questions with certainty, but the existence of the two steeples and the circumstance of the dedication of the sacred edifice to the two great apostles, Peter and Paul, are sufficiently favourable to warrant the conjectures here advanced. The church, as originally built, was much smaller than it is now, but its enlargements from time to time seem to have been made in the width rather than in the length of the edifice, and this increase in the width has been gained principally by the erection of the Derby and Scarisbrick chapels on the south of the high chancel and the king's chancel, and the Bickerstaffe chapel on the north of the king's chancel.†

On referring to the ground plan it will be seen that the church consists of high chancel and king's chancel, nave, tower and spire, and north and south aisles, having the

* The following inscription in the Mossock Chancel in the north aisle of the church, the position of which will be seen by referring to the ground plan of the church, has given Mr. Glazebrook and others the idea that Ormskirk Church was built about the year 1276; but the date on the inscription is merely intended to communicate the fact it sets forth, but has no reference to the date of the original erection of the church. This seemingly-intended poetical inscription is as follows.—

"JESUS, MARIA,
God sauve the King.
My Ancestors have been interred heere 335 yeares,
This by auntient evidence to me appeares
Whiche that all maye knowe, & none doe offer wrong
It is tenne fotte broade & 4 yeards & a halfe longe
Anno Domini 1661. Henry Mosoke
Ætatis suæ 74 : Ad majorem Dei gloriam
Richard Mosock sculpsit"

A brass plate, almost similarly inscribed, marks the burial place of another branch of the Mossock family in Aughton Parish Church. This inscription is as follows:—"Jesus, Savior. My ancestors have been interred here above 380 years. This to me by ancient evidence appears, which that all may know & none Doe offer wrong, It is ten foot & one inch broad & four yards and a half long. Richard Mosock, 1686. God save the King to the great glory.—Amen."

† The church, from time to time, has undergone many alterations. The Bickerstaffe and Scarisbrick chapels were, most probably, built about the same time that the Derby Chapel was erected. About the year 1730, the south side of the church was re-built, when that view of the sacred edifice was similar to that given in our wood engraving, which shews an embattlement and crocketed pinnacles corresponding with those on the tower, but which were all swept away some thirty years ago. The north aisle was widened about the year 1766, and two or three years ago both tiers of windows were renovated and filled with stained glass, those in the Bickerstaffe Chapel and the gallery above, by the Earl of Derby; the other four forming the upper tier, by the parish; and the four in the lower tier, 1, "The Baptism of Christ," by Wm. Welsby, Esq., already noticed; 2, "The Last Supper," by Edward Stanley, Esq., of Cross-Hall; 3, "Faith, Hope, and Charity," by Mrs. Webb, only daughter of the late Edward Boyer, Esq., J.P., of Brooklands, Scarisbrick; 4, "The Good Shepherd," by the late Miss Blundell, of The Cottage, Aughton.

Bickerstaffe chapel and vestry on the east of the north aisle, and the Scarisbrick and Derby chapels on the east of the south aisle. The length of the church, from the east window to the west wall of the tower, is about 140 feet, and the greatest width, which is from the north wall of the Bickerstaffe chapel to the south wall of the Scarisbrick chapel, is about 72 feet. The tower is a very heavy and massive structure, its walls from the ground floor to the belfry being from 9 feet to 8 feet in thickness; has a superficial area of about 27 feet by 27 feet; and is about 72 feet in height to the top of the embattlement, from which rise eight crocketed pinnacles, 9 feet higher. The spire is about 100 feet in height, the vane being "The Eagle and Child."

The tower contains a peal of eight bells, one of which, the tenor or "big bell," is worthy of special notice. This bell is said to have been the third bell at Burscough Priory; and, judging from the two dates which are on it, "1497" and "1576," it would appear that the bell, after the dissolution of Burscough Priory, must have met with some serious accident, rendering its re-casting necessary in "1576," previously to its being hung in the tower of the Ormskirk Parish Church.* This interesting relic from Burscough Priory bears an inscription in old English characters, the intervals between each

* An opinion prevails—but it is only an opinion, and one only barely plausible—that on the dissolution of the monasteries, &c., in 1540, by Henry VIII., eight of the bells of Burscough Priory were removed to Ormskirk, when it was found necessary to build the present tower for their reception, as the original steeple was not large enough to contain them; and it is also asserted that some of the bells at the Burscough Priory were removed to Croston; and hence it is concluded that Ormskirk Church had only a spire previously to the reign of Henry VIII., or about the middle of the sixteenth century. That bells were removed from Burscough Priory at the time of its dissolution to the churches of Ormskirk and Croston may be true, and accommodation for the reception of some of them may have been made at Ormskirk Church, but we cannot resist an impression that the required accommodation was secured rather by the rebuilding and Gothicising of the upper portion of the tower, which had fallen into a state of dilapidation, than by the addition of a second steeple; and this, to some extent, will account for the difference in the style of the arches of the windows in the bell-loft, &c., and that of the once principal entrance into the church at the west side of the tower, which latter and the lower portions of the tower and spire, are of an earlier date than the superstructure from about the floor of the present belfry; and, most likely, it was at the time of this partial rebuilding of the tower that the light pointed arch on the east side of the structure, and the similar one on the east side of the adjoining spire tower were erected, which throw open the ground floor of the tower and spire, but which are hid from view—that of the tower by the organ and west gallery, and that of the spire by the west end of the south gallery.—With regard to the current opinion that eight of the bells of Burscough Priory were removed to Ormskirk, it is quite certain that, if such was the case, the other seven, as well as the eighth or tenor bell, have been recast, but at other and more recent dates, for four of the bells bear the year "1714," and the other three, the year "1774." The following are the inscriptions and dates on these seven bells, according to their order in the peal:—1st, "1774;" 2nd, "Peace and Good Neighbourhood, 1774;" 3rd, "Wm. Grice, P'sh Clerk, 1714, A.R.;" 4th, "Henry Helsby, 1714, A.R.;" 5th, "Archippus Kippax, Vicar, 1714, A.R.;" 6th, "Beni. Fletcher, Thos. Moorcroft, Thos. Aspinwall, Ch'wardens, 1714;" 7th, "Thomas Budhall, Gloucester, Founder, 1774." It is worthy of remark that these seven bells bear each one date only, and that they are without any mark to shew their connexion with Burscough Priory, or with any event prior to the dates on them. This being the case, and there being no authoritative record respecting their earlier history than the dates on them, the reader must be left to form his own opinion as to their having been removed from Burscough Priory, and as to the erection of the present massive tower of Ormskirk Church for their accommodation.—The weight of the tenor bell is registered in the belfry as being "25½ cwt. 25lbs."

word being filled with heraldic royal badges, connected with the period when the bell was given to Burscough Priory, which badges we describe thus :—Asterisk (*), a rose ; dagger (†), a *fleur-de-lis* ; section (∞), a red dragon ; double dagger (††), a portcullis. The inscription and devices are very neatly executed in a single line between three beads, and occupy the whole circle of the bell immediately below the cannons or ears. The inscription and ornaments, then, are as follow :—

—“*† * S * de * B * armig. * et * e * ux * me * fecerunt * in * honore * trinitatis † * ∞ * †† * ∞ * * * R. B. 1497 †*” Below this inscription, and between two neat floral borders, the red dragon, the large rose, the portcullis, and the *fleur-de-lis* are repeated round the whole circle of the bell, and in the order here named ; and lower down occurs the second date, “1576.” The inscription on the bell in English is “J. S. of B., Esquire, and his wife, made me in honour of the Trinity. R B. 1497.” The question for whom the initials, “J. S.,” stand for has provoked conflicting opinions, none of which will stand the test of scrutiny. The formation of the first letter itself presents a difficulty. The form of the letter is not that of a capital, but that of a small letter (i) without the dot at the top, and without the stroke peculiar to the *t*, therefore the question presents itself, Is the letter an *I* or a *T*? Baines, in his *History of Lancashire*, and Glazebrook, in his *Marina*, have adopted the “*J*,” and the latter takes the “*B*” after “*de*” to stand for Burscough, thus “*J. S., of Burscough,*” &c. Subsequently to the publication of his work, however, Mr. Glazebrook, after his attention had been called to the subject by Mr. W. J. Roberts, late of Aughton, changed his opinion as to the reading of the first letter, and, in reply to Mr. Roberts, says,—“It amounts to a conviction on my mind that it was presented by Thomas Stanley, first Earl of Derby, and his Countess, Margaret ; and that the letters I took for ‘*J. S.*’ are really meant for ‘*T. S.*,’ ” and “the inscription must necessarily be translated as follows :—‘Thomas Stanley, of Burscough, Esq., and his wife, made me (or caused me to be made) in honour of the Trinity. R. B. 1497.’ ” This second conjecture by Mr. Glazebrook is a very unhappy one, and quite irreconcilable with the inscription itself. Had it been the gift of Thomas Stanley, that nobleman would not, in 1497, have styled himself “*armiger*,” or “*esquire*,” whilst then enjoying and having then enjoyed for twelve years, the title of “*Comes Derbiæ*” (Earl of Derby) of Lathom and Knowsley, and having suc-

ceeded his father, in 1459, as Baron Stanley.* In arriving at the meaning and object of the devices on the bell, there can be little difficulty. Though the gift of the bell was clearly an act of piety on the part of the donor, it being made "*in honore Trinitatis*," yet it was also intended to honour and be a memento of the happy results following the battle of Bosworth and the death of Richard III., which secured the throne of England for Henry VII., son of Margaret of Lancaster and Countess of Richmond and Derby, and which was followed by the marriage of Henry with the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV., the undoubted heiress of the rights of the house of York, since the murder of her two brothers in the Tower, which marriage united the White Rose of York with the Red Rose of Lancaster, and so terminated the long War of the Roses, in which, no doubt, the donor of the tenor bell at Ormskirk Church fought under the banner of his neighbour, Thomas, first Earl of Derby, and his gallant brother, Sir William Stanley, who crowned Henry on the battle field of Bosworth. The two roses on the bell (here shewn by the two small asterisks) represent the union of the Roses, or of the houses of Lancaster and York in Henry VII. and his Queen; the single rose (here marked by the single asterisk) represents the Red Rose of Lancaster, which Henry VII. assumed as great-great grandson of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster; the portcullis, Henry's descent from the renowned John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, the father of Margaret, the Countess of Richmond and Derby; the *fleur-de-lis*, Henry's descent from the royal house of France, Henry VII. being the son of Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, who was the son of Sir Owen Tudor and Queen Catherine, widow of Henry V., and eldest daughter of Charles VI. of France; and the red dragon was the badge borne by the house of Tudor, marking its descent from Cadwaladyr, who was the last to bear the title of the King of the Britons, and

* This correspondence between Mr. Roberts and Mr. Glazebrook is contained in the Additional Manuscripts, in the British Museum, contributed by Mr. Roberts. The bell is thus noticed by Mr. Roberts, from which it will be seen that his opinion, as to the donor, is decidedly more at variance with the inscription than that advanced by Mr. Glazebrook. Mr. Roberts writes, "This badge is an evidence of the fidelity of the artists of the middle ages, whose works evince the scrupulous accuracy in delineation of costume. The heraldic devices on the bell are the strongest evidence that could be adduced to identify its connexion with Burscough Priory. They are those of the pious Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, by her right as daughter of Beaufort and wife of Earl Edmund. No doubt the bell was given by her to the Priory in 1497."—How Margaret, the mother of Henry VII. could use the inscription, "J. S. de B., armig." it would be difficult to divine.—We have also heard an opinion hazarded to the effect that the bell was a gift to the Priory of Burscough by Henry VII., after his visit to his mother and the Earl of Derby, at Lathom, as a balm to his conscience for his ingratitude to, and the beheading of Sir William Stanley, the brother of Earl Thomas, who crowned Henry on the battle field of Bosworth: But this, too, is equally at variance with the inscription.

who had for his ensign a red dragon; and Henry VII., to mark his descent from that "blessed king,"* also bore on his standard a large red dragon on white and green silk, in his memorable and successful struggle with Richard III. on the battle field of Bosworth. The initials "R. B.," before the date, seem to be those of the founder. The inscription and devices have the appearance of having been brazed round the bell after it was cast, all being in *bas-relief* on strips of thin metal.

So much for the devices on the bell; but for whom do the initials "I. S." stand for? Scarcely for Thomas Stanley, first Earl of Derby; and positively not for Margaret, his Countess. In those eventful times, however, there was a person of considerable standing in the neighbourhood of Burscough, whose ancestor, Walter, Lord of Scarisbrick, had increased the endowment of Burscough Priory, and that was James Scarisbrick, Esq., who, by an inquisition of 4th Henry VII., held lands in Burscough, as already noticed,† and had, no doubt, added his interest to that of the other great families of Lancashire on behalf of the representative of the house of Lancaster, and so, probably, gave the bell to Burscough Priory, as a thank-offering to the Triune Deity, not omitting to ornament his gift with emblems associated with the great national event of the period.‡

After these remarks on the tenor bell at Ormskirk, we must proceed to observe that under the massive tower of Ormskirk Parish Church are two vaults, one under the Cross-Hall Chapel on the south side of the tower, and the other on the north-west corner, which is altogether hid from view by a brick enclosure. In the chapel on the south side of the tower are two mural marble monuments, that on the east side being to the memory of Charles Stanley, Esq., and Jane Stanley, his wife; and that on the west side, to the memory of the Rev. Christopher Sudell, rector of Northmeols, and father of Mrs. Stanley.

At the east of the north aisle, as already observed, is the

* Cadwaladr succeeded to the nominal sovereignty of Britain in 660, but, dispirited at the success of the Saxons, he proceeded to Rome, and died there in 708. This prince was called "one of the three blessed kings," owing to his favour and charity towards distressed Christians.

† See page 315.

‡ Since writing the above, the writer has had his attention called to the bell at Bickerstaffe Hall, which bears, in old English characters, the names, "James Searisbrek, Esqw., Marget hys wyfe. I. E. R." This James Scarisbrick, too, would be living about the year 1497, the first date on the tenor bell at Ormskirk. His wife Margaret was the only daughter of Thomas Atherton, Esq., of Bickerstaffe, who, as well as Gilbert Scarisbreke, is mentioned as a trustee in the will of Thomas, the first Earl of Derby. This James Scarisbrick had issue, an only daughter, Elizabeth, who was married to Peter Stanley, Esq., of Aughton, by which marriage the Bickerstaffe estate passed to the Stanleys of Bickerstaffe, and subsequent Earls of Derby.—See page 262.

Bickerstaffe Chapel, beneath which repose the remains of the Stanleys, baronets of Bickerstaffe, and many of their ancestors and kinsmen, who resided at Moor Hall,* in Aughton. Under the gallery stairs, at the east end of this chapel, are two recumbent effigies, probably brought here from Burscough Abbey, where they were first placed as representations of personages of the Derby family, in accordance with the will of Thomas, the first Earl of Derby. The floor of the Bickerstaffe Chapel is now covered over with pews.

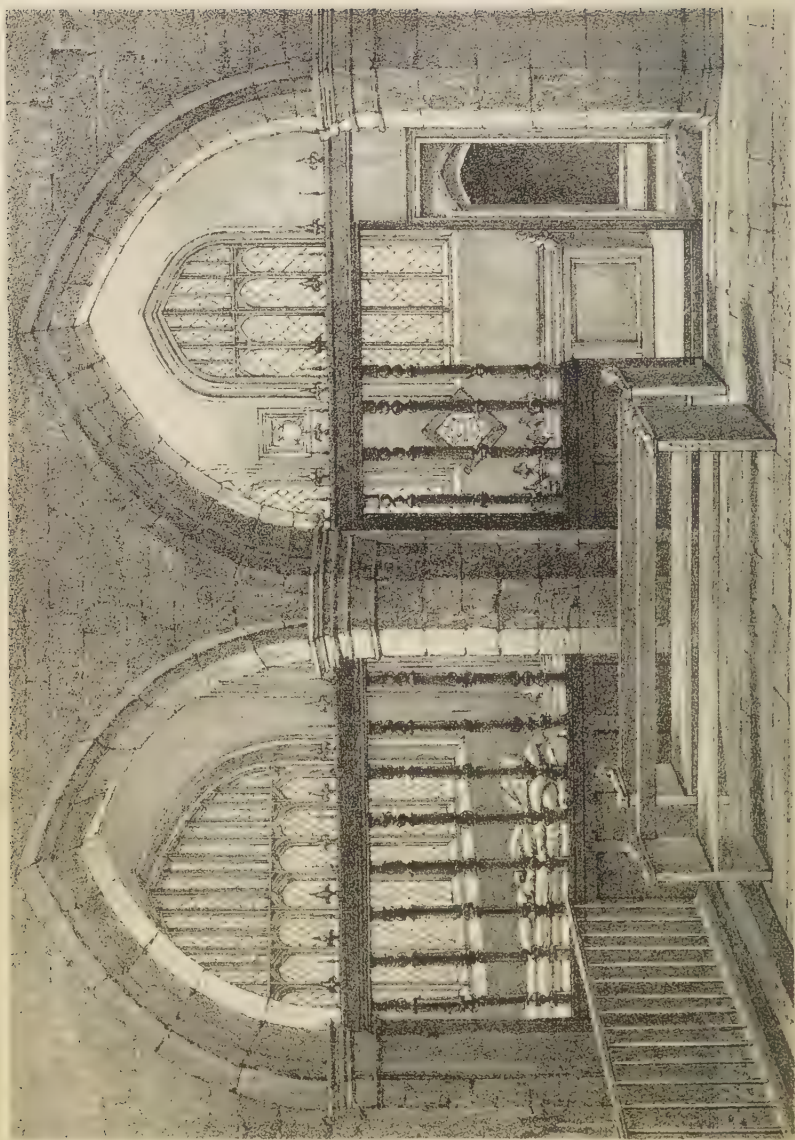
Opposite the Bickerstaffe Chapel is the Scarisbrick or Eccleston Chapel, and between the two is the King's Chancel. At the north-east corner of this chapel is the Scarisbrick†

* While a portion of the foregoing pages have been going through the press, Moor Hall, the old Aughton seat of the Stanleys, has again changed hands, John Peter Duff, Esq., being now the owner by purchase from Miss Rosson.—Over the south front entrance of this mansion is the following inscription:—"Praye ye for the goode estat of Peter Stanley, Esqir and Cecely hys Wif with ther children who caused this woork to be made in the yere of ovr Lord God a Thovsand ccccxlvi.;" and on the east, and adjoining, is a shield, bearing a stag's head and the initials, "P. S."

† In the south-west corner of the Scarisbrick gallery, which is over the Scarisbrick chapel, there is a mural marble monument to the memory of Robert Scarisbrick, Esq., erected by his affectionate and afflicted widow, Mrs. Anna Scarisbrick, who was also buried at Ormskirk in 1743. The monument bears the Scarisbrick arms, and is thus inscribed:—"M. S. (Memoriæ sacrum.) Hic situs est Robertus Scarisbrick de Scarisbrick, Armiger, functus vitâ, quam piè ac religiosè duxit, Viduus Martias, Anno reparaatæ Salutis. mcccxxxvii., Etatis lxxix., vix ineunte. Conjux, Parens, Paterfamilias, Amicus, Civis, Conjugis, Liberorum, Familiæ, Amicorum, Patriæ amantissimus, vixit naturæ, gloriæ, Sibi satis, Conjugi, Liberis, Familiæ, Amicis, Patriæ parum. Invidiâ et calumniâ major rectè factorum fama sibi superstes vivit, æternum Deo, qui rectè factorum merces est magnanimis victurus. R. I. P. Conjugi amantissimo hanc Tabulam memoriæ, Pietati conjugali, posteris sacram amantissima Conjux Anna Scarisbrick de Scarisbrick, mœrens posuit." This affectionate tribute to the memory of this good man may be thus rendered:—"Sacred to memory. Here is buried Robert Scarisbrick, of Scarisbrick, Esquire, who ended this life, which he led piously and religiously, hardly preserving health, eleventh March, 1737, in the early part of the 69th year of his age. Husband, Parent, Father of a Family, Friend, Citizen—a most affectionate lover of his wife, his children, his family, his friends, his country. He lived long enough for nature, glory, and himself, but scarcely long enough for his wife, his children, his family, his friends, his country. He was above envy and calumny, and he lived after himself in the fame of deeds done rightly (or honourably) and will continue to live eternally to God, who, to the magnanimous, is the recompense of deeds done virtuously. May he rest in peace. His most affectionate and afflicted wife, Anna Scarisbrick, of Scarisbrick, caused to be erected this tablet of remembrance to her most loving husband, to conjugal attachment, and to their children."—In the south wall of the Scarisbrick gallery there is also a mural panel bearing the family crest.—The Scarisbrick family is one of great antiquity, and is one of those great heraldic Lancashire families whose history is connected with the chivalry of the country. The Scarisbrick, Eccleston, Dicconson, and Wrightington families are now represented by the two daughters of Thomas Eccleston-Scarisbrick, Esq., who married Eleanora, the heiress of the Scarisbrick family, of Scarisbrick, and assumed in consequence the additional surname of Scarisbrick, and who also inherited the Wrightington estate on the death of his uncle, Edward Dicconson, Esq., of Wrightington. Thomas Eccleston-Scarisbrick, Esq., sold the estate of Eccleston to Colonel Samuel Taylor, of Moston. Mr. Scarisbrick was suddenly taken ill at Ormskirk during the celebration of the jubilee-day of George III., from which he never rallied. His death was universally lamented. His son William only survived him three days, and both were interred in the family vault at Ormskirk Church on the 8th of November, 1809. Mr. and Mrs. Eccleston-Scarisbrick had three sons and three daughters, namely, Thomas, Charles, and William, and Anne, Eliza, and Maria. William (interred at Ormskirk on the same day that his father was buried), and Maria died unmarried. Thomas, on the death of his father, succeeded to the Scarisbrick estates, and assumed the surname and arms of Scarisbrick only. He married Sybella-Georgina, daughter of William Harrington, Esq., of Shaw Hall, Leyland, but died, without issue, on the 11th July, 1833, and was succeeded by his brother, Charles Dicconson, Esq., of Wrightington, who had assumed the surname of Dicconson, instead of Eccleston; but who, on succeeding to the Scarisbrick estate, assumed the surname and arms of Scarisbrick only. Charles Scarisbrick, Esq., died 7th May, 1860, and was buried at Bescar Chapel, on the 12th of the same month, the funeral being as private as possible, and his remains being borne, according to his express wish,

vault. This chapel, like the Bickerstaffe Chapel, is now

by a select number of his servants through the grounds and across several fields to Bescar Chapel, a portion of the graveyard having been removed to admit the funeral.—The late Charles Scarisbrick, Esq., was succeeded by his two surviving sisters:—To the Scarisbrick estates, by the elder, Anne, widow of the late Sir Thomas Hunloke, Bart., by whom she had a son, the late Sir Harry Hunloke, Bart., who died without issue, and a daughter, married to the French Count de Castajic, and the absolute heiress to the Scarisbrick estates; and to the Wrightington estates, by his younger sister, Eliza, married to Edward Clifton, Esq., of Clifton, and formerly of The Blythe, Lathom, by whom she has a numerous family. Lady Hunloke, on succeeding to the Scarisbrick estates, assumed the surname of Scarisbrick only.—SCARISBRICK HALL is said to have been the residence of the Scarisbrick family for upwards of seven centuries. The style of the present mansion is Elizabethan Gothic, having been partially rebuilt by the late Charles Scarisbrick, Esq., and his sister, Lady Scarisbrick, from designs by the late Mr. Welby Pugin. The style of the architecture bears a strong resemblance to the Houses of Parliament, but more elaborately ornamented, many of the figures being knights in armour, which, with the handsome clock tower, give to the mansion a most magnificent *coup-d'œil*. The mansion is surrounded by a moat, which is spanned on the principal or south front by a beautiful bridge in character with the style of the hall, and here are beautiful gates, elaborately and beautifully designed, bearing the arms of the family. The south, north, and west fronts were erected by the late Charles Scarisbrick, Esq., but the east wing and clock tower have been erected, and many of the internal improvements completed, by Lady Scarisbrick, who has also commenced the building of the chapel, on the east side, which will be a beautiful and costly structure. Round the arch of the south vestibule is a beautifully-wrought scroll, bearing, in raised Latin characters, the words, "This Hall was built by me, Charles Scarisbrick, MDCCCLXII., Laus Deo;" and round the arch of the doorway leading into the entrance-hall is another similarly-wrought scroll, inscribed, "Ye will shew kindness to my Father's house.—Joshua iic., 12v." Along the front architrave of the noble edifice are the following other Scripture texts, also in Latin characters:—"I have raised up the ruins, and I have builded it as in the days of old.—Amos ix., 14." "Every house is builded by some man, but He that buildeth all is God.—Hebrews iii., 4." On the left of the entrance-hall is the banquetting-hall, a most magnificent apartment, and exceedingly rich in tasteful ornamentation, the splendid tracery of the oriel being filled with stained glass. This apartment is about 45 feet by 30 feet, and 80 feet from the floor to the top of the lantern-light, and is floored with encaustic tiles of beautiful and rare designs. The mantel-piece of this splendid apartment is built of stone from the Lathom Park Round O Delf, and bears the inscription, on a scroll, "Make the Pile for Fire Great;" and over this is a rich piece of carved work in Caen stone, supporting two mail-clad knights, and having the arms of the Scarisbrick family in the centre. On the west side of this apartment is an imposing and splendid piece of oak carving, inserted in the wall, the subject being "Christ Crowned with Thorns;" and opposite this, on the east side, is a magnificent and elaborately-carved dark-oak screen, above which is the orchestra. The spandrels and roof are filled with the representations of antediluvian and fabulous monsters, in gold and appropriate colours, and in the hollow of the rich illuminated cornice round the apartment are the following Scripture verses:—"Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it; except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain. It is vain for you to rise up early, to sit up late, to eat the bread of sorrows, for so he giveth his beloved sleep." To the west of the banquetting-hall is the carved oak room, the curious antique wainscoting of which displays, besides many other subjects, "The Deluge," "The Day of Judgment," "Gathering Manna," "David and Goliath," "The Valley of Dry Bones," "The Place of Skulls," "Moses in the Mount Receiving the Ten Commandments," "King David Playing on the Harp," "The Descent of the Holy Spirit like a Dove," "The Holy Eucharist," "Grand Mass," &c. Leading from the carved oak room is a splendid saloon, called the "Tudor Hall," and here, not only the wainscoting, but the ceiling is of richly-carved oak, the upper panels of the wainscoting being filled with portraits, including those of Henry VIII. and his wives, the Princess Mary, the Princess Elizabeth, Mary Queen of Scots, Lord Darnley, James I. and his Queen, Prince Rupert, Earl of Surrey, the Queen of Bohemia, &c., being twenty-seven in number. The canopies over these portraits are most exquisite, the carving being picked out with gold, red, and blue. The drawing-room is a spacious and splendid apartment, the ceiling bearing beautiful medallions of England's greatest worthies—King Alfred, Edward the Confessor, Chaucer, Roger Bacon, Sir Isaac Newton, and Shakspeare, and richly illuminated scrolls and the motto "Sit Deo gloria" are repeated with tasteful effect between the medallions and on other parts of the ceilings. The mantel-piece in this apartment is a magnificent specimen of stone carving, the subjects in the two panels being two views of the hall, underneath which is a handsome scroll bearing the name "Charles Scarisbrick," the whole being executed in bold relief. Round the lantern light of the grand staircase are displayed, on the sides, in carved oak, two views of Scarisbrick Hall, "A Wild Boar Hunt," and "Stag Hunt." The lantern light in the centre of the staircase bears the following verse, "For He that is mighty hath done great things for me, and holy is His name. Allelujah." In the decorations, in the several apartments, scrolls, monograms, shields, and crests are tastefully displayed in all directions, and with admirable effect. Scarisbrick Hall stands in the centre of a fine park, which is picturesquely and tastefully wooded, and has a fine lake of water to the south-east of the mansion. The plantations have been so laid out that a view of the hall cannot be had from any point outside the park. The lodges round the park are very neat, and particularly those on the east side.



covered with seats; and, on the floor of one of the pews, over the vault, is the figure of a knight, cut in brass, attired in armour, with the Scarisbrick ensigns. Most probably this is another relic from Burscough Priory, and may represent one of the Scarisbricks who so liberally added to the endowment of Burscough Priory. The last member of the Scarisbrick family buried here was Thomas Scarisbrick, Esq., son of Thomas Eccleston-Scarisbrick, Esq., of Scarisbrick Hall, the funeral taking place on the 26th July, 1833, being twenty-four years after the funeral of his father and brother William, both of whom were buried in the same vault on the same day, namely, the 8th of November, 1809, and whose deaths were deeply lamented throughout the district.

The Derby Chapel, the final resting place of the deceased Earls of Derby, forms the south-east corner of the church, being separated from the Scarisbrick Chapel, on the west, by an oak screen, and from the high chancel, on the north, by two pointed arches, between which are also high oak railings. This chapel was built about the year 1572, in accordance with the will of Edward, the third Earl of Derby, who was buried in the high chancel of the church. The chapel is about twenty-four feet square, and is lighted on the east by a window with seven lights, and on the south by two windows having three lights each. On the north of the chapel, under the east arch, are two marble procumbent effigies, much dilapidated, one being that of a Stanley in armour, with his hands clasped, as in the attitude of prayer, and bearing, on the skirt of his mail, the three legs conjoined, the ensign of the Kings of Man; and the other that of a lady. These effigies are supposed to represent Thomas, the first Earl of Derby, and his Countess, the mother of Henry VII., and were also brought from Burscough Priory at the time of its dissolution. In the walls are three mural *bas-reliefs* (two being on the north and one on the south) bearing the Stanley arms, and supposed to be in alabaster, but now coated with colouring in common with that on the walls. These are evidently very ancient; and, probably, were originally inserted in the walls of the Derby chapel in the priory church of Burscough. With the exception of the effigies and the three mural *bas-reliefs*, just named, two hatchments, and one solitary mural marble monument, there is nothing to be seen to mark this particular part of the church as being the burial place of the Earls of Derby; and the stranger feels somewhat disappointed to find no marble monuments recounting their deeds or setting forth

their virtues. The only monument in the chapel is on the east wall of the north corner, and is to the memory of Alice, the wife of the Hon. and Rev. John Stanley, D.D., rector of Liverpool, Bury, and Winwick, and is thus inscribed :—

Beneath this monumental marble lyes,
One who, at once, was gracefull, good, & wise,
Lov'd & admir'd in every scene of Life,
The daughter spotless, exemplary wife.
Firm in her Friendship & in Honour clear,
Discreet, sweet-tempered, modest & sincere,
Agreeable in all things, most in mind,
She liv'd a bright example to her kind.

ALICE, the Wife of the Honble. and Rev. John Stanley, and daughter of Edward Warren, of Poynton, in Cheshire, Esqr., by his Second Wife Margaret, the daughter of the Honble. William Spencer, Esqr. Died 5th Nov., 1737, aged 39.

The Derby vault is in the centre of the chapel; and, previously to being closed after the funeral of the thirteenth Earl, in July, 1851, was entered by three folding doors; but the vault is now bricked over, and covered with seats, which are generally occupied by the girls attending the Sunday schools. The vault, when closed, contained about thirty coffins, but many of them were fast going to decay, and the inscriptions on about sixteen only could be deciphered.* One of the coffins is remarkable for its large size, this being the one in which rest the remains of the Hon. Thomas Stanley, brother of the twelfth Earl of Derby, major of the 79th Regiment, who died at Jamaica, September 24th, 1779, and which is 7ft. 7½in. in length, 2ft. 6in. in width, and 1ft. 10in. in depth. The coffin containing the remains of the illustrious and heroic Countess Charlotte de la Tremouille could not be singled out with certainty; but the coffin, or rather the

* The limited number of inscription plates, &c., found in the vault seems to justify the suspicion that the vault has from time to time been plundered, which may account for the fact of no plate being found on the coffin containing the remains of the illustrious Countess Charlotte de la Tremouille. The probability is, that there were no inscriptions on the coffin containing the remains of James, the seventh Earl, as "the authorities" in those days would treat the corpse of the great Earl as dishonoured.—An old sexton, Mr. John Hankin, was wont to narrate to persons visiting the Derby Chapel during his time the particulars of a very singular robbery from the vault. In those days the Omskirk Free Grammar School and house stood in the churchyard, on the north side. The robbery was attempted by a woman dressed in deep mourning, who, affecting great distress of mind, succeeded in gaining the sympathy and commiseration of the sexton's wife, who allowed the apparently distressed widow to go into the church alone, and whenever she required. On the occasion of one of these lonely visits to the church, however, the strange conduct of the woman attracted the curiosity of the school boys, and they watched the widow's proceedings through the church windows, and saw her coming out of the Derby vault carrying an entire hand and arm belonging to one of the bodies interred in the vault. The boys immediately gave the alarm, and the completion of the theft was prevented, but not before the widow had concealed her strange booty under her clothing. The coffin from which the hand and arm were extracted is supposed to contain the remains of a foreign ecclesiastic, who died during the sixteenth century at Lathom House, and whose body had evidently been embalmed, as the flesh thereby had acquired hardness and a dark brown colour, which was seen when the vault was closed in 1851, the wood coffin being then almost entirely decayed away, and the lead one, which was shaped to fit the head and neck, had several openings in it, laying bare the body and the cloth in which the body had been tightly wrapped at the time it was embalmed. This coffin is under the one containing the body of the seventh Earl of Derby. In consequence of the attempted robbery above noticed, for several years visitors were not allowed into the Derby Chapel, but the privilege was again conceded on the condition of the sexton being personally present with all future visitors.

coffins,* the one containing the headless body, and the other the head of her beloved and loyal husband—the brave and martyred Earl of Derby—were in a very good state of preservation, but bore no inscriptions, their uncoffin-like shape being their only indication of the depositories of the mortal remains of the great Earl of Derby, whose loyalty and martyrdom has thus been immortalised by his faithful chaplain, Archdeacon Rutter :—

Hail! honour'd Vault, thou sacred dust,
Clean as the STANLEY's name that must
Eternize you, and give to Death,
Rank tho' it be, a sweeter breath,
Than spices suck'd from eastern air,
Or any place but where you are;
For balms that other bodies keep,
Are kept themselves where you do sleep:
Marvel not, Holy Urns, if now,
By kind or cruel fate, or how
I know not, your brave son appears,
All smear'd with blood, and bathed with tears,
'To take his lodging up and lie
In your untainted company;
For tho' his noble blood was spilt
By colour of black treason's guilt,
Yet know we all not bad or good,
As in your days was understood.
The silly virtues of your times
Our wiser age hath made our crimes;
We believ'd historic, and there,
We read how true the STANLEYS were;
But since, this man was made we know
A rebel for not being so;
And by new style of language found
For having ne'er been false, unsound.
Pardon us if we swear that you,
Blest souls, have all been traitors too.
But stay, your peaceful shrines must hear
No more of this, and you that wear
The white to shew your innocence,
So taken in the good old sense.
Do not disdain if he that bled
Come here to dye you all in red;
How well it must you saints become,
To be dipp'd with him in MARTYRDOM.†
You lov'd your Princes, and the end
For which you liv'd was to defend
The power that made you great to be
Worthy of this posterity:
But if your waking spirits flew
That day aloft, when with a few,
Great DERBY mounted on his cause,
Fought for his COUNTRY, KING, and LAWS;
Resolv'd our little light grown dim,

Should ne'er be quite extinguished without him;

You'll say that you did but begin
What he made perfect and have been;
'Tis all that reason can afford,
You majesty's bucklers, he the sword:
Oh! where's the fortune that was wont
To wait on you, and give account
Of all your actions, bidding Fame
To write them fair upon your name?
What! must his valour be denied
Success, to satisfy the pride
Of angry fates, who set it down
For law, no bays without a crown?
Making his loss a public harm,
Three Kingdoms leaning on his arm.

Poor destinies to govern wars
Yet suffer him to top your stars,
And change to triumph what you meant
By fond mistake his punishment.
So did he ride, his chariot drawn
By tigers tam'd, and taught to fawn
Upon the greatness of his soul,
Brute passions all at his control;
Rage turn'd to pity, scorns to fears,
Hard and cold hearts dissolved to tears,
His guard march'd like poor conquer'd things,
Who just before could spit at kings;
He put them on new garbs, and none
Of that day's manners were their own.

A triumph such as one may see
After some Indian victory;
Where savage beasts first learn to kneel,
And slaves walk chain'd to chariot wheel;
A glorious day, no griefs might dare
To darken what his looks made fair.

But as the valiant Israelite
In vision saw before the fight;
His fleece by wonder, dry and round,
About the place a watered ground;
So stood unmoved this gallant peer
Whilst sorrow made all deluge there;
And yet, as when with hottest rays,
A clear sun its full strength displays

* The coffins are separate. The one containing the head is about 1ft. 10in. square, and the one containing the body is scarcely like a coffin, being of the same width at both ends. Both are oak, but of rude make, as if having been prepared in a hurry.

† It would almost seem that the martyred Earl of Derby had a kind of presentiment of the bloody fate which was to bring his memorable and loyal career to an end. In his lordship's private diary, preserved at Knowsley, under the date September 22nd, 1647, is the following entry :—“As I was reading alone in my chamber at Castle Rushen, about 12 in the night, blood fell in a very strange manner upon my book.” The Earl composed a form of meditation and prayer to commemorate this remarkable event, in which he thus acknowledges God's pleasure towards him :—“He did please for some good unto me that blood fell strangely on my booke while I was reading late alone in the dead of night, being that time very sad and pensive.” * * * “Lord, let this which thus happened be a token of thy favour to me, as to Israel, saying, ‘The blood shall be to you for a token upon the house where you are, and when I see the blood, I will pass over you; and the plague shall not be upon you to destroy you when I smite the land.’—Exo. 12, 13.”

On some thick cloud that dare resist,
There shews a kind of bloody mist,
So did his clearness then arise,
And dart upon the people's eyes,
That none did ever see they say,
A bloodier and a fairer day;
Fixed in the sweetness of a mind,
Free from guilt and fear we find;
His boldness now bowing to none,
But his God and him alone.

And as triumphing consuls thought
Their glories greater when they brought

Their crowns to th' temple as was meet,
They laid them down at great Pan's feet.

So after all this triumph he
A servant still to MAJESTY,
Before his God fell on his face;
At which the genius of this place,
This reverend vault fetch'd him away,
T'enthroned him where the STANLEYS lay;
Whose ashes whisper their desire,
From his warm blood to take new fire;
And light a blinded world to see
This blessing of their LOYALTY.

The Derby vault in Ormskirk Church is now finally closed, and the future burial place of the Derby family will be Knowsley Church.

THE STANLEYS OF CROSS-HALL.*

The Cross-Hall family of the House of Stanley forms the first† collateral branch of the Stanleys of Bickerstaffe, the present House of Derby, the progenitor of the present representative of the Stanleys of Cross-Hall being Peter Stanley, second son of Sir Thomas Stanley, second Baronet of Bickerstaffe, and brother of Sir Edward Stanley, the third Baronet of Bickerstaffe, from whom the present Earl of Derby is the lineal descendant.—See p. 265.

Peter Stanley, Esq., the progenitor of the present proprietor of Cross-Hall, married, 18th April, 1683, at Goosnargh Chapel, Catherine, daughter of Colonel Alexander Rigby, of Middleton, Goosnargh, by Margaret, daughter of Sir Gilbert Houghton; and, after the death of her first husband, Peter Stanley, re-married, at Preston, 2nd November, 1689, to Paul Amyas, Esq. Peter Stanley, Esq., was buried at Ormskirk, January 27th, 1686, and had issue, Mary and Margaret, who died without issue, and Thomas, who succeeded his father.

Thomas Stanley, Esq., of Cross-Hall, was high sheriff of

* Cross-Hall, the old Lancashire residence of this branch of the Stanley family, was a mansion built of brick, but was taken down about sixty years ago. The hall stood on an elevated and most delightful site, commanding the best views of the surrounding scenery, which is most pleasant and varied. A small portion of the old mansion still remains, having a modern stone front; and there are also still standing portions of the garden enclosures. The hall is situate in the township of Lathom, about three-quarters of a mile from Ormskirk, on the Wigan-road. In the valley to the east is the New Park, in which formerly stood Alton Castle, and which, with the Bath-wood, the Ruff, and a large area of well-cultivated land, in the immediate neighbourhood of Cross-Hall, are still held by this branch of the Stanley family. Some years back the kitchen at the Cross-Hall had hung on the walls several pieces of armour, formerly belonging to the gallant knights of Cross-Hall, but these have been removed. Cross-Hall was formerly the patrimonial property of the elder branch of the house of Derby, but was left by James, the tenth Earl, to this branch of the family, with remainder to Sir Edward Stanley, fifth baronet of Bickerstaffe, who succeeded to the Earldom of Derby as the eleventh Earl, and to his heirs for ever.

† The family of the late James Stanley, of Ormskirk, forms the second collateral branch of the Stanleys of Bickerstaffe, being descended from Henry Stanley, the second son of Sir Edward Stanley, Bart., of Bickerstaffe.—See page 264.

the county of Lancaster in 1718. He married Catherine, daughter of Anthony Parker, Esq., of Bradkirk, Lancashire, who was buried at Ormskirk, 29th January, 1738, having survived Mr. Stanley nearly five years. Mr. Stanley was buried at Ormskirk on the 10th April, 1733, having had issue:—1, Charles, his successor; 2, Thomas, who succeeded his brother; 3, James, who married Anne, daughter of — Langley, Esq., and was buried at Ormskirk, in May, 1773, without issue; 4, Mary, who became the wife of the Rev. John Lowe, and was buried at Winwick, 22nd June, 1778; 5, Rebecca, who was buried at Ormskirk, 8th October, 1758.

Charles Stanley, Esq., of Cross-Hall, eldest son of the above-mentioned Thomas Stanley, was born on the 25th July, 1715, and married Jane, daughter and heiress of the Rev. Charles Sudell,* rector of North Meols, Lancashire. Mr. Stanley died in 1754, and was buried at Ormskirk, 23rd April, 1754; and Mrs. Stanley died the following year, and was also buried at Ormskirk, on the 26th December. The children of Mr. and Mrs. Stanley were:—1, Margaret-Sarah, baptised at Ormskirk, April 23rd, 1740, and died at Bath, unmarried, and was buried at Ormskirk, October 14th, 1787; 2, Thomas-James, baptised December 24th, 1741, and buried at Ormskirk, April 29th, 1742. In the Cross-Hall Chapel, under the tower of Ormskirk Church, on the east side, is a mural monument to the memory of Mr. and Mrs. Stanley, the inscription being,—

Charles Stanley, Esqr., of Cross-Hall, Lancashire, died ye 19th April, 1754, aged 39. An inexpressible Loss to his own Family, and universally lamented by his Friends and Acquaintance for the many amiable Qualities he so eminently possessed. And here also is interred the Body of Jane Stanley his wife who died ye 12 of Decr., 1755, aged 50, whose Conduct as a Wife, Mother, and Friend add a lustre to her Memory.

Thomas Stanley, D.D., rector of Winwick, as already noticed, was the second son of Thomas Stanley, of Cross-Hall, and succeeded his brother Charles. He was christened at Clitheroe, January 2nd, 1717, and married, at York Minster, Betty, daughter and co-heir of John Shaw, Esq., of York. Mr. and Mrs. Stanley had issue:—1, Thomas, who succeeded his father to the Cross-Hall estate; 2, John, born at Winwick,

* On the west wall of the small chapel on the south side of the tower of Ormskirk Parish Church, belonging to the Stanleys of Cross-Hall, is a marble monument to the memory of the Rev. Christopher Sudell, inscribed in Latin, as follows:—"Certa spe Resurrectionis juxta requiescent cineres Christophori Sudell, A.M., Prenobilis Jacobi Comititis Derbiæ; Capellani, Ecclesiæ de North Meols in hoc agro Lancastriensi et S.S. Trinitatis Cestriæ Rectoris, Necnon Ecclesiæ Cathedralis ibidem Prebendarij. Obiit III die Aug. anno Sal., MDCCLXXV, Ætatis suæ LXIII."—In English the foregoing inscription may be thus rendered:—"In certain hope of the Resurrection, near to this place rest the ashes of Christopher Sudell, M.A., Chaplain to the Right Honourable James Earl of Derby, Rector of the Churches of North Meols in this county of Lancaster and of the most Holy Trinity in Chester, also a Prebendary of the Cathedral Church of the same city. He died Aug. 3, 1755, in the 63rd year of his age."

January 18th, and christened February 13th, 1750, was an officer in the army, and died, unmarried, at Worcester; 3, James, who continued the line of descent, as shall be noticed presently; 4, Betty, born July 17th and baptised August 17th, 1753, at Winwick; 5, Catherine, born November 22nd, 1759, and baptised January 1st, 1760, at Winwick, and married John Bacon Sawrey Morritt, Esq., of Rokeby Park, county York, and died *s.p.*—The Rev. Thomas Stanley, D.D., died in June, and was buried on the 30th of the same month, 1764, at Ormskirk, being survived by his widow till 1780, who was also buried at Ormskirk, on the 4th December of that year.

Thomas Stanley, Esq., of Cross-Hall, eldest son of the Rev. Thomas Stanley, D.D., was born on the 14th of September, at Winwick, and christened there on the 16th October, 1749. He was colonel of the 1st Regiment of Royal Lancashire Militia from 1783 till his death. He was one of the knights of the shire for the county of Lancaster from 1780 to 1812; and, during the memorable period of his parliamentary career, his attention to his public duties was most unremitting. In 1797, the bill for increasing the allowance to prisoners for debt, from fourpence to sixpence per day, received his support. He opposed Mr. Pitt's Additional Force Bill, in 1804; and, during the same year, he also opposed the Corn Bill, as he considered it highly prejudicial to the county of Lancaster. It is also worthy of note that in 1805 he sat as chairman of the committee of enquiry into the claims of the Duke of Athol for further remuneration as the former proprietor of the Isle of Man; and, in 1807, Colonel Stanley opposed the bill for permitting militia men to volunteer into the regular army. In the Exchange Room, at Manchester, is a fine full-length portrait of the gallant colonel, by Sir Thomas Lawrence, bearing the following inscription underneath—a pleasing memento of his public worth and the esteem he enjoyed:—

Thomas Stanley,
Colonel of the Royal Lancashire Militia,
and one of the Representatives of this County,
This Portrait

Presented to the Merchants and Manufacturers of Manchester by
Thomas Johnson and James Ackers, Esquires,
is placed here as a

Testimony of Public Regard for the ability and zeal with which he uniformly promoted
the commercial interests of this town during eight successive Parliaments.

Colonel Stanley died, unmarried, on the 8th of January, 1818, and was buried in the family vault under the tower of Ormskirk Parish Church. He was warmly attached to Cross-Hall; but, probably, not so much on account of being its pro-

prietor, as having been the place of the pleasant associations of his childhood. According to his expressed desire, his corpse, on being conveyed to its final resting place, was taken past Cross-Hall, where his tenantry joined in the funeral procession. The occasion of the funeral was marked by every demonstration of regret, the deceased having won for himself universal esteem.—James Stanley, Esq., was the third and youngest son of Dr. Stanley, having been born at Winwick, December 26th, 1750, and baptised January 24th, 1751. He was called to the bar on the 9th February, 1781; and married, in May, 1786, Augusta, daughter of John Cornwall, Esq., of Hendon, Middlesex, and had issue:—1, Edward; 2, the Rev. Thomas Stanley, born in 1799; 3, Augusta, born in 1787; 4, Elizabeth, born in 1788; 5, Catherine, born in 1795.—James Stanley, Esq., died on the 28th September, 1810; and was buried in the Church of St. Nicholas, Brighton, where a mural monument was erected to his memory. James Stanley, Esq., dying before his brother, Colonel Stanley, the Cross-Hall estate descended to his elder son,

Edward Stanley, Esq., who succeeded his uncle, Colonel Stanley, and is the present proprietor of Cross-Hall. He was born in 1789; and married, September 3rd, 1819, the Lady Mary, second daughter of James Maitland, Earl of Lauderdale, and has issue:—1, Eleanor, born in 1821; 2, Augusta, born in 1823, and married, in 1841, to Richard, Lord Cremorne; 3, Edward-James, born at Geneva, in December, 1826. At the election in 1837, Mr. Stanley, having Mr. Charles Towneley for his colleague, contested the southern division of the county of Lancaster, in the Whig interest, against Lord Francis Egerton, afterwards first Earl of Ellesmere, and the Hon. Richard Bootle-Wilbraham, father of the present Lord Skelmersdale, when the Conservative candidates were returned by an overwhelming majority, the votes being: Egerton, 7,822; Wilbraham, 7,645; Stanley, 6,506; Towneley, 6,044.—Mr. Stanley, though a Whig in politics, is a staunch member of the Church of England; and, though he gives his interest to the Liberal candidates, yet he leaves his tenants to vote as they please. Mr. Stanley is a magistrate and a deputy-lieutenant for the county of Lancaster.

Arms—The achievement emblazoned by Sir Gilbert Dethick, Garter King-of-Arms (temp. Elizabeth) for the younger branch of the House of Derby, is as follows:—1. Stanley, arg., on a bend, az., three stags' heads, caboshed, or.

2. Lathom (of Lathom and Knowsley,) or, on a chief, indented, az., three plates. 3. Isle of Man, gu., three men's legs, armed, ppr. conjoined in the centre at the upper part of the thighs, flexed in a triangle, garnished and spurred, or. 4. Warren (Earls of) chequy, or and az. 5. Strange (Barons Strange of Knockyn*), gu. two lions, passant, arg. 6. Wydvile (Earl Rivers) arg., a fesse and canton, gu. 7. Scales (Barons Scales), gu. six escallop shells, three, two, one. 8. Gobion, arg., three gudgeons, haurient, within a bordure, engrailed, sa. 9. Bedels-gate, or, on a bend, sa., three mullets, arg. 10. Beauchamp of Hache, vair, arg. and az. 11. Luxembourg, arg., a lion, rampant, gu., queue nouée fourchée passée en sautoir, armed and crowned, or, langued, az., a label of three points, az. 12. De-Baux (Dukes of Andrie) 1st and 4th De-Baux, gu.,

* The barony of Strange past into the Stanley family by the marriage of George Stanley, third son of the first and father of the second Earl of Derby, with Jane, or Joan, daughter and heiress of John, Baron Strange of Knockyn, by Jaquetta, sister-in-law to Edward IV., and daughter of Richard Wydvile, Earl Rivers, and his wife Jaqueline of Luxembourg, widow of John Plantagenet, Duke of Bedford, and daughter of Peter Luxembourg, by Margaret, daughter of Francis De-Baux, Duke of Andrie, by Justine, daughter of Count d'Ursin, of the noble family Ursini, of Rome. John, the eighth Lord Strange, the father of Jane, the wife of George Stanley, was the son of Richard, the seventh Lord Strange, who was the son of John, the sixth Lord Strange, who married Maud, the daughter of John, Lord Mohun, his father being Roger, the fifth Baron, who was the son of Robert, Lord Strange, the son of Ebulo, who married Elinor, the daughter of Edmund Lacy, Baron of Halton, who married Isabel, daughter of the Marquis of Saluce. This Edmund was the son of John Lacy, Baron of Halton, who married Margaret, the elder daughter of Robert, Lord Quinsey, Earl of Lincoln, by his wife Hawisse, the fourth daughter of Hugh Bohun, or Hugh Cyvelioc or Kovelioe, the fifth of the seven noted Norman Earls of Chester, who died 30th June, 1232. Hugh Bohun was the father of Randle Blundeville, the sixth Norman Earl of Chester, who built Beeston Castle, and died 23rd October, 1232, being the uncle of John Scot, the seventh Norman Earl of Chester, the mother of the latter being Maud, the eldest daughter of Hugh Kovelioe, who married David, the King of the Scots, who died in 1219, leaving issue, John Scot, the seventh Earl of Chester, just named, who died 7th June, 1237. The father of Hugh, the fifth Norman Earl of Chester, was Randle Gernouns, the fourth Earl of Chester, who died 16th December, 1153, being the son of Randle Meschines, the third Earl of Chester, who died 16th June, 1129, his mother being Margaret, sister of Hugh Lupus, who married John Bohun. Richard, the eldest son of Hugh Lupus, and the second Earl of Chester, was drowned at the age of 24 years, on the 25th November, 1120. Hugh d'Avranches, commonly called Hugh Lupus or Hugh Wolf, from having a wolf's head as his favourite device, was the first Norman Earl of Chester, his uncle, William the Conqueror, having given to him that portion of the conquered country with the Saxon title of Earl. Hugh Lupus resided in the Castle at Chester, which was built by the Conqueror, and died July 27th, 1101. The Chapter-house of Chester Cathedral is remarkable owing to the burial in it of the renowned Hugh Lupus by his nephew, Randle Meschines. In 1721 the remains of Hugh Lupus were there discovered, wrapped in leather, and deposited in a stone coffin, having a cross on the breast.

Altho my corpse it lies in grave
And that my flesh consumed be,
My picture here, now that you have
An Earl some time of this city—
Hugh Lupus by name, &c.

The sword of Hugh Lupus is preserved in the British Museum. In a painted glass window at Breton Hall, were portraits of the nine Saxon and Norman Earls of Chester, the two Saxon earls, Leofwine and Leofric, occupying the first positions. The portraits of the Norman earls formerly graced the banquetting-hall of the Stanleys of Hooton Hall, and also the portrait of Edric Silvestris, who died in 1089, ancestor of the Earls of Stourton. When the late Sir William Thomas Stanley Massey-stanley, Bart., lost the fine estate of Hooton, the portraits of the Norman Earls of Chester were sold, and are now the property of Mr. James Thompson, of St. John's Market-house, Great Charlotte-street, Liverpool, where they may now (sept., 1864.) be seen. On the death of John Scot, the seventh and last Norman Earl of Chester, in 1237, without male issue, King Henry III. bestowed the county on his son Edward of Caernarvon, and since that time the earldom has been in the Crown—the Prince of Wales being Earl of Chester.

a comet of sixteen rays, arg., 2nd and 3rd France, semée of fleurs-de-lis, or. 13. Luzignan (King of Cyprus, &c.) barry of ten, arg. and az., over all a lion, rampant, gu. la queue fourchée passée en sautoir, armed and crowned, or, langued, az. 14. Ursins (Counts of) bendy of six, arg. and gu., a fesse, or, on a chief, arg., a rose, gu. 15. Chatillon (Counts of St. Paul, &c) gu., three pales vair, arg. and az., on a chief, or, a label of five points, az. 16. Mohun (Barons Mohun) or, a cross, engrailed, sa. 17. Montalt (Barons of) az., a lion, rampant, arg. In the centre of the shield a crescent for difference, gu.—*Crest*—On a chapeau, gu., turned up erm., an eagle with wings expanded, or, preying on an infant, ppr. in its cradle, or, swaddled, gu., banded, or.—*Motto*—*Sans changer*.

Residence, Grosvenor-square, London.

THE STANLEYS OF ALDERLEY.

This branch of the Stanley family has a history in common with the elder and second branches of the ancient family of Stanley down to Thomas, first Baron Stanley, who, as already noticed, had four sons, the first of whom was Thomas, first Earl of Derby, and the third was

Sir John Stanley, Knight of Weever and Alderley, in the time of Edward IV., who married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Weever, Knight of Weever, in the county of Chester, in whose right he succeeded to that estate, and had issue,

Sir Thomas Stanley, of Weever, who married a daughter of Thomas Leversedge, Esq., of Wheelock, by whom he had a son,

Sir Thomas Stanley, who married one of the daughters of Thomas Davenport, Esq., by whom he had three sons, Thomas, John, and Randal. He was succeeded by his eldest son,

Sir Thomas Stanley, who married Ursula, daughter of Richard and sister to Sir Hugh Cholmondeley. Sir Thomas died in 1591, leaving issue, a son,

Sir Randal Stanley, of Weever, who married Margaret, the daughter of John Masterson, Esq., of Nantwich, by whom he had issue, Thomas, Randal, and Mary. Sir Randal was captain of the Isle of Man, where he died on the 17th June, 1595. He was succeeded by his elder son, *

Sir Thomas Stanley, Knight of Weever and Alderley, high-sheriff for Cheshire in the seventh year of King Charles I.

This Sir Thomas married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir Peter Warburton,* Knight of Crafton, in the county of Chester, chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas. Sir Thomas died in 1605, at the age of twenty-nine, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

Thomas Stanley, Esq., of Alderley, who was created a baronet 25th June, 1660. Sir Thomas married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Pytts, of Kyre, Worcestershire, by whom he had issue:—1, Peter, his successor; 2, Thomas, who married Penelope, daughter of John Bradshaigh,† Esq.; 3, James, married to Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of John Byron, Esq.; 4, Jane, died unmarried; 5, Elizabeth, married first to John Leigh, Esq., and secondly to Robert Venables, Esq.; Frances, died unmarried; 7, Mary, married to Peter Wilbraham, Esq.; 8, Margaret, who became the wife of

* In his will, dated 25th June, 1621, the Chief Justice styles himself Peter Warburton, Knight, one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas, stating that he was in good health, and recommending his poor soul into the hands of Almighty God, in full hope, through faith in Christ Jesus, to have remission of all his sins, and requesting that his body might be buried in Tilston Church, near his dear wife Dame Alice Warburton, if he died in Cheshire. He gave to his well-beloved grandchild, Thomas Stanley, Esq., all his leases of land in Cheshire. His will was executed on the 7th September, 1621, and ends as follows:—"And so I take my leave of this world, 7th September, 1621.—To my servant xls."

† John Bradshaigh, Esq., was a member of the old Lancashire family of Bradshaw. Sir John de Bradshaw, Knight (the ninth from Sir John, who was reinstated in the possessions of his Saxon ancestors by William the Conqueror) married, in the tenth year of Edward I., the daughter and heiress of Sir John de Bromley, Knight, by whom he had issue three sons, the eldest of whom, Sir Thomas, was the progenitor of the Bradshaws, of Bradshaw, county of Lancaster, from whom the regicide, President John Bradshaw, in the time of Charles I., was an unworthy descendant. The second son of Sir John de Bradshaw was Sir William, who is represented as having been a military man and a great traveller. He married Mabel, daughter and co-heiress of "Hugh le Norris, Lord of Sutton, Rainhill, Eccleston, Whinston, Haigh, Blackrod, and Westleigh," all in the county of Lancaster. In some "Curious Particulars" from an old MS., Sir William is said to have had, at puberty, Haigh and Blackrod by a twelfth part of a Knight's Fee [*i.e.* twelfth part of 640 acres of land] as Hugh le Norris held the same, and for which he and his wife paid 3s. 8d. aid-lump to Edw. III. for making the Knight's eldest son a Knight, when Sir William made an alteration in the spelling of his name, namely, from Bradshaw to Bradshaigh. About the year 1314, Sir William went to the wars, and was absent from his lady more than ten years. During his absence, his wife, Dame Mabel, believing him to have been slain, married Sir Osmond Neville but Sir William, returning, came in a palmer's habit ["palm" or "cross"—the sign of having visited the Holy Land] amongst the poor, to Haigh, whom she no sooner beheld than, struck with the resemblance of her former husband, she burst into tears, for which she was sharply rebuked by Sir Osmond, upon which Sir William withdrew and made himself known to his tenants. Sir Osmond, learning that Sir William Bradshaigh had really returned, fled towards Wales, but was overtaken by Sir William near to Newton Park, where Sir William slew him; and, according to an extract from the family pedigree of the Bradshaigh family, "the said dame Mabel was enjoined by her Confessor to doe penance by going onest every week barefoot and barelegged to a crosse near Wigan from the Haghe wilest she lived; and is called Mab + to this day; and ther monument lies in Wigan Church, as you see them ther portray'd." Mab's cross is at the top of Standishgate, Wigan, about one mile and a half from Haigh Hall. Sir William shortly after was reconciled to his lady, and both lie interred in Wigan Church, and are there represented by two effigies,—Sir William in antique mail, cross-legged, unsheathing his sword; and Mabel, in a long robe, and veiled, with her hands closed and enjoined, as if praying. Roger Bradshaigh, M.P., of Haigh, was created a baronet in 1679, having been brought up and educated by James the seventh Earl of Derby, who, according to Dr. Wroe, the eloquent warden of Manchester, was the "instrument in reclaiming him from the errors of the Church of Rome." Haigh Hall is now the seat of the Earl of Balcarres, Alexander, the sixth Earl of Balcarres, having married in June, 1780, his first cousin, Elizabeth, only child of Charles Dalrymple, Esq., who inherited the Haigh property, on failure of male issue in her maternal family, namely, that of Sir Roger Bradshaigh, Bart., of Haigh, who was her ladyship's great grandfather.

Thomas Swettenham, Esq., of Swettenham.—Sir Thomas Stanley died in 1672, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

Sir Peter Stanley, the second Baronet of Alderley, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Leigh, of Northcourt, Isle of Wight. Sir Peter was high-sheriff for Cheshire in 1678. He had two sons and six daughters:—1, Thomas; 2, Charles, who married Lucretia, granddaughter of Lord Plunket, and died *sine prole*; 3, Elizabeth, married to Thomas Weever, Esq.; 4, Penelope, married to John Perrott, Esq.; 5, Mary, married to George, eldest son of Sir Henry Ingoldsby, Bart.; 6, Anne, died unmarried; 7, Frances, married first to Sir Thomas Fotherley, Bart., and secondly, to John Swettenham, Esq.; 8, Diana, who died unmarried.—Sir Peter was succeeded, in 1701, by his eldest son,

Sir Thomas Stanley, who became the third Baronet of Alderley; and married Christiāna, daughter of Sir Stephen Lennard, Bart., of West Wickham, by whom he had two sons, James and Edward, who succeeded to the baronetcy, and two daughters, both of whom died unmarried.—Sir Thomas died in 1721, and was succeeded by his elder son,

Sir James Stanley, as the fourth Baronet of Alderley, who married, in November, 1740, Frances, youngest daughter of George Butler, Esq., of Ballyragget, county Kilkenny; but, dying without issue, in 1746, the title and estates now devolved upon his brother,

Sir Edward Stanley, the fifth Baronet, who married Mary, daughter of Thomas Ward, Esq., of London, banker. He died in 1755, and was succeeded by his only surviving son,

Sir John-Thomas Stanley, the sixth Baronet, who was born in 1735, and was one of the gentlemen of his Majesty's privy-chamber. He married, in 1763, Margaret, daughter and heiress of Hugh Owen, Esq., of Penrhos, in Anglesey, who died on the 1st February, 1816. Sir John had issue:—1, John-Thomas, his successor; 2, Edward (Bishop of Norwich); 3, Isabella-Elizabeth, married, 19th October, 1812, to Charles Gibson, Esq., of Quernmore Park, Lancashire; 4, Louisa-Margaret, married, 25th November, 1802, to General Sir Baldwin Leighton, who died in 1828; 5, Emma, married, in 1810, to Captain Digby-Thomas Carpenter, Esq., and died in 1842, leaving one son and four daughters.—The Right Rev. Dr. Stanley, the second son of Sir John-Thomas Stanley, Bart., was born at London, 1st January, 1779, studied at Cambridge, and, having taken holy orders in 1805, was presented by his father to the living of Alderley, where he con-

tinued to labour for about thirty-two years, and in 1837 was promoted to the see of Norwich; and was celebrated as an accomplished geologist, botanist, and entomologist; but his works shew that his favourite study was ornithology, and his *Familiar History of British Birds, their Nature, Habits, and Instincts* is an admirable work; and his articles upon natural history, which appeared from time to time in *Blackwood's Magazine*, are also excellent productions. Dr. Stanley married Catherine, daughter of the Rev. Oswald Leycester, rector of Stoke, Salop, by whom he had issue:—1, Owen, born 13th June, 1811, a lieutenant in the Royal Navy; 2, Arthur-Penrhyn, born at Alderley in 1813, and educated at Rugby, under Dr. Arnold, whence, in 1834, he proceeded to Oxford, where he subsequently became fellow and tutor of University College; and married, December 22nd, 1863, at Westminster Abbey, the Lady Augusta Bruce, sister of the late Governor-General of India; in 1851, was nominated a canon of Canterbury, and afterwards appointed chaplain to His Royal Highness Prince Albert (late Prince Consort), and accompanied the Prince of Wales through his tour in the Holy Land, in 1862; in 1863, having refused the archbishopric of Dublin on the death of Dr. Whately, he was appointed Dean of Westminster; in 1856, he was elected to fill the chair of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford; and of his works we may mention his *Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, D.D.*, *Historical Memorials of Canterbury*, a most learned and interesting work under the title of *Sinai and Palestine in connection with their History*, and a memoir of his father, Dr. Stanley, Bishop of Norwich, and also several collections of sermons and essays; 3, Charles-Edward, lieutenant of Royal Engineers; and Mary and Catherine-Maria—Sir John Stanley, Bart., died on the 29th November, 1827, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

JOHN-THOMAS, FIRST LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY.

Sir John-Thomas Stanley, Bart., F.R.S. and F.S.A., the seventh Baronet, was born 26th November, 1766, and was elevated to the peerage, as Baron Stanley of Alderley, in May, 1839. He married, October 11th, 1796, the Lady Maria, Josepha Holroyd, daughter of John, first Earl of Sheffield, and had issue:—1, Edward-John, his successor; 2, William-Owen (twin with his brother Edward-John), born November 13th, 1802, and married, 14th February, 1832, Ellen, youngest

daughter of Sir John Williams, Bart., of Bodelwyddan, Flintshire ; 3, Maria-Margaret ; 4, Lucy-Anne, married, September 24th, 1833, to Marcus-Theodore Hare, Esq., R.N., who died in 1845, leaving issue ; 5, Louisa-Dorothea ; 6, Isabella-Louisa, married, October 23rd, 1826, to Sir William-Edward Parry, Knight, Captain R.N., and died May 13th, 1839, leaving issue ; 7, Harriott-Althea, married, October 20th, 1835, to Lieutenant William-Henry Scott, and has issue ; 8, Matilda-Abigail, married, October 6th, 1828, to Henry-John Adeane, Esq., of Babraham, Cambridgeshire, and died 28th July, 1850, leaving issue ; 9, Emmeline, married, April 30th, 1844, to Albert Wray, Esq.—Lord Stanley, having nearly attained the age of eighty-four, died on the 23rd October, 1850, being succeeded by his elder twin son.

EDWARD-JOHN, SECOND LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY.

The Right Honourable Edward-John, Lord Stanley of Alderley, was born on the 13th November, 1802, and graduated at Christ Church, Oxford, taking A.B. in 1823. His lordship married, at Florence, October 6th, 1826, Henrietta-Maria, daughter of Henry-Augustus, 13th Viscount Dillon. Lord Stanley is a magistrate and deputy-lieutenant of Cheshire, and was M.P., for Hindon from 1831 to 1832, and for North Cheshire from 1832 to 1848, when he was called to the House of Lords as Baron Eddisbury, of Winnington. From 1835 to 1841, he was Joint Secretary of the Treasury, and was President of the Board of Trade from 1853 to 1858 ; he has been Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs and the Home Department ; and in September, 1860, his lordship was appointed Postmaster-General. Lord Stanley is a statesman of great experience, and his speeches always display good, sound sense, business ability, and a thorough acquaintance with the subject upon which he may be speaking, and they read well. Lord and Lady Stanley of Alderley have issue, four sons and six daughters :—1, Henry-Edward-John, born 11th July, 1827, who has filled various diplomatic appointments, and was secretary to the special mission in the Danubian Provinces from 1856 to 1858 ; 2, John-Constantine, born October 30th, 1836, captain in the Grenadier Guards ; 3, Edward-Lydulph, born May 16th, 1839 ; 4, Algernon-Charles, born September 16th, 1843 ; Alice-Margaret, married, February 3rd, 1853, to Augustus-Lane Fox, Esq. ; Henrietta-Blanche, married, September 23rd, 1851, to David-Graham-

Drummond Ogilvy, the 7th Earl of Airlie ; Cecilia, who died in 1839 ; Katherine-Louisa ; Maud-Alethea ; Rosalind-Frances.

Arms.—Arg., on a bend, az., three stags' heads, cabossed, or, a crescent for difference.—*Crest*—On a chapeau, gu., turned up erm, an eagle, wings expanded, or, preying upon an infant, ppr., swaddled, of the first, banded, az.—*Supporters*—Dexter, a stag, or, gorged with a ducal crown, and line reflexed over the back, and charged on the shoulder with a mullet, az. ; sinister, a lion regardant ppr., gorged with a plain collar, arg., thereon three escallops, gu.—*Motto*—*Sans changer.*

The seats are Alderley Park and Winnington Hall, Cheshire ; and Penrhos Hall, Anglesey.

The Stanley family, a sketch of whose interesting history has been attempted in the foregoing pages, now comprehends one baronetcy (the eldest branch), represented by Sir Rowland Errington, the eleventh baronet, brother of Sir William Thomas Stanley Massey-Stanley, Bart., late of Hooton, Cheshire, who died at Paris, 29th June, 1863 ; two peerages—the earldom of Derby, and the barony of Stanley of Alderley, Cheshire ; the Stanleys of Cross-Hall, Lancashire ; the Stanleys of Dalegarth and Greswithen, Cumberland ; and other branches, occupying prominent positions in other counties. For eight centuries the Stanley family has enjoyed a proud and noble place in its country's history, and can boast an ancestry whose fame is not surpassed by that of any other noble family in the land ; and whose illustrious career and great national worth promise to be perpetuated

“SANS CHANGER,”

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